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THE BOOK OF THE TAKING OF IRELAND

PART II

EDITED AND TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES, ETC.

BY

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA TO VOL. I.

Some errata have been detected by myself and others and, so far as they are of importance, may be mentioned here. Such typographical trifles as the wrong-font D (p. vi, line 13) and the misprint "Eisen-merger" (for "menger"), top of p. 265, may be disregarded. The following should however be emended:—

p. 19, ¶ 6, l. 2: for "sinned" read "quarrelled."

p. 43, for "no wickedness is spoken here" read "no location is postulated here." This does not necessarily modify the references to the passage on pp. 15, 224: the gloss still makes the impression of a man seeking to reassure himself along the lines there indicated.

p. 87, line 5, for "there" read "here."

p. 226. I am indebted to Dr. Max Forster for calling my attention to two studies of his own which I have since referred to, and which should certainly be added to the bibliographical references in ¶ 27. "Adams Erschaffung und Namengebung, ein lateinisches Fragment des sudslawischen Henoch" (*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xi [1908], 477. "Die mittellirische Version von Adams Erschaffung" (ZCP xiii, p. 47 ff.).

p. 246. A courteous reviewer has objected to the diagram-restoration on account of the implied treatment of the word *gid*. The disagreement is a matter of instinct rather than of argument: the passage makes an impression of *progressive* interpolation; and the examples of *cid* used emphatically, to which he refers me, do not seem to me to be parallel. Moreover my interpretation gains an effective antithesis (indicated in the note) which is lost otherwise.

Another reviewer, equally courteous, has made some suggestions which I had already considered, but rejected because they went too much against the ms. evidence. But I must demur to being elidden for ignoring *ninsa* in the translation (as on p. 153). This is a mere punctuation-mark, and to pepper an English version with "not difficult," where "?" would suffice is slightly absurd.

G. G. Coulton, *Medieval Panorama*, p. 272, should be referred to on p. 139 of this volume. The book did not come into my hands till after the sheet was printed off.

SECTION II.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE GAEDIL.

Introduction.

We have already seen (Vol. I, p. xxvii) that this section is based, not on genuine traditional matter (we may perhaps except a few personal names, though even this is uncertain), but on an artificial adaptation of the early history of the Israelites. It has suffered modification in translation from the original Latin and in subsequent transmission—a proof that the historians were not hampered by tradition—and in consequence two versions, R¹ and R², differing widely, have come into being. Even in matter common to both there is nothing traditional: the most striking is also the most obviously borrowed. The tale of the Sirens, outwitted by waxing the ears of the ships' crews, can be nothing more than an adaptation of the familiar Homeric tale of Odysseus: the druid Caieher, who invents this precautionary expedient, is merely a compound of the seer Calchas of Troy and the sorceress Circe, to whose suggestion it is ascribed by Homer.¹

Both versions start with Nel in Egypt, whither he has gone to teach Pharaoh his languages and where he has married Pharaoh's daughter, Scota I: but the genealogical antecedents of Nel differ in the two texts. In R² he is brought into association with Moses, who has encamped with his followers at "Capaeirunt"—the Pi-Hahiroth of Exodus xiv. 2—where Nel has his estate: Nel gives them supplies, thereby angering Pharaoh, though the fate of the latter in the Red Sea averts

¹Odyssey, xii, 47. A similar device appears in the story of the Yew of the Sons of Angcess (Book of Leinster, facs. 27 a, 35 ff.). A biographer of St. Brendan has borrowed it: the saint, having had a revelation of the music of Heaven, ever afterwards found earthly music disagreeable, and plugged his ears so as not to hear it. (Martyrology of Donegal, 16 May.)

for a time the royal vengeance. R¹ knows nothing of this, but seems to suggest that the Gaedil left Egypt under Sru, Nel's great grandson, because the death of Pharaoh had deprived them of royal patronage. In R² an outburst of Egyptian hostility in a later generation is the cause of their exodus.

Both versions, again, bring Sru to Scythia, where the descendant of Nel's brother Nenual is king. There is a cross-fighting between the Scythian kings and the Gaedelic leaders, involving the usual royal vendetta, which continues through several generations.

At last Refloir son of Rifill, the Scythian king, is killed: R¹ says by Agno[mai]n, fifth in descent from Sru; R² says by Mil, the father of the "Milesian" leaders. From what source this "Refloir son of Rifill" reached the Irish historians is a question that has not yet been answered. In both stories this particular killing is regarded by the Scythians as especially heinous, though why Refloir was more sacrosanct than his ill-fated predecessors does not appear. In expiation for the crime, the Gaedil are exiled from Scythia. R¹ takes them north to the Rhipacan Mountain, where they find a well with the taste of wine, and where Caicher prophesies their future journeys and the postponement of their arrival in the Promised Land: they then proceed to the Maeotic Marshes, where they remain for nine generations, after which they set out for Spain, their last halt on the trek to Ireland. R², however, conducts them back to Egypt, marries their then leader Mil to Scota II, daughter of Neetanebus, then King of Egypt; and keeps him there till his extensive family of sons is born. He then leaves, because Neetanebus is too weak, in the face of the conquering Alexander the Great, to be of any service to him as a patron; and he sets forth on the long voyage by the Rhipacan Mountain (where he hears the prophecy of Caicher) and so on to Spain. The protracted sojourn at the Maeotic Marshes is unknown to this version.² The doubled personality of Scota is enough

² It is conceivable that this place is emphasized in the sequel because some wiseacre saw in *Gaethlaige* an etymology for *Gaedil*; and though the eponym *Gaedel Glas* prevented ∞ LG or his glossators and successors from perpetuating this notion, the "historical" influence remained.

to show that the two Egypt episodes in R² are doublets, which have developed independently, the second being a later interpolation in the text, made when the versions had become so different that the historians supposed them to be different stories. The original tale may have introduced Moses, who dropped out of R¹ and was much developed in R²: but the reason which it alleged for the departure of the Gaedil from Egypt was at first not so much fear of Egyptian vengeance as the death of the royal patron.

We may provisionally restore the original version in outline thus: Nel goes to Egypt: marries Scota (to account for the name "Scots"): meets Moses, but his extended dealings with him in R² are a later adaptation from the Biblical narrative: Pharaoh is drowned: Nel leaves Egypt with his wife and family: they wander far, hear the prophecy as to the duration of their voyage, set forth again and ultimately reach Spain. We have seen (Vol. I, p. xxvii) that in the story as originally devised, on the basis of the history of the Israelites, Nel corresponded to Terah (to some extent also to Moses) and Mil to Jacob. But as the tale passed from redactor to redactor it had parted company with its original form, and had indeed become distorted beyond recognition. The functions of Nel and of Mil became assimilated, so that the two heroes as they are presented in the text before us are virtually doublets of one another.

I take it that the Scythian episode is an etymological invention (Scots = Scythians), at first quite independent of the LG canon; it went through several modifications during its separate existence, and at last was incorporated, in two different versions, by the two traditions which culminated in R¹ and R². The pointless delay at the Maeotic Marshes in R² is also an interpolation. Though this story had lost its original etymological purpose, it was still useful to square up a chronological discrepancy which some redactor had discovered.

The version in Min need not detain us: it does not differ essentially from R¹. We turn now to R³, which in this section is a very clumsy and awkward patchwork, based upon the two earlier versions, with the addition of some extraneous matter.

The compiler has endeavoured to produce a composite

text; preserving as many details as possible, but abandoning the hopeless task of reconciling discrepancies. The close relationship of his ms. of R¹ (*Q), to F, observed in the preceding section, is here maintained.

The following table continues the analysis of R³, begun on Vol. I, p. 5, above. Paragraphs marked * are from R¹, those marked † from R², those unmarked from some independent source.

Paragraph.	Source.
*134	R ¹ ¶ 103 (reading <i>Magog</i> for <i>Gomer</i>).
135	Interpolated prefatory matter.
136 M version	Independent version.
† „ H version	From R ² ¶ 16, 17, in § I.
*†137	R ¹ ¶ 104 + R ² ¶ 18 (the latter in H only).
*138	R ¹ ¶ 105.
†139	Chronological interpolation from R ² ¶ 17 in § I.
*140	R ¹ ¶ 106, with some preliminary matter apparently lost from extant MSS. of R ¹ .
141	Interpolation about Feinius and his study of History.
*142	R ¹ ¶ 107 + an interpolation on the divisions of Gaelic.
†143-150	R ² ¶ 118-123 (the Egyptian episode).
*†151-154	R ¹ ¶ 109, 110 + R ² ¶ 127 and some extraneous matter.
155-156	Matter from an independent source.
*157-162	R ¹ ¶ 110-115, given frankly as an alternate version of this part of the story.

There is on the whole a proportionally larger number of interpolated passages inserted into the text of these paragraphs than in § I; and some few passages have been dropped (or possibly did not exist in *Q). But it would be a mere matter of scissors and paste to divide this section of R³ into its component parts, and to restore almost all of the text of the MSS. of R¹ and R² which lay before the compiler.

We have now to consider the relations between R¹R²R³ and the later attempts at historical synthesis—O'Clery's

redaction (K) and Keating's *History* (Kg). The following details are apparent immediately:—

Nel is descended from Gomer R¹, from Magog R²R³—also KKg.

Rifaith Scot brings "Scotic" from the Tower R²R³—rejected by KKg.

Gaelic is fashioned by Gaedel Glas R¹, by Feinius R²R³. Not in K. Kg ascribes it to a different Gaedel, s. Ethor, unknown to LG.

The Nel-Moses episode, not in R¹ and certain MSS. of R². In KKg, but with some differences of detail. Thus, in K, Nel reports to his own people his intention to succour the Israelites; the serpent does not bite, but winds itself around Gaedel, and the green mark is made by the coils, not by the bite; the numbers of the drowned Egyptians are substantially increased. In Kg the serpent attacked Gaedel when swimming (a detail borrowed from Poem no. XVIII); and a chronological disquisition assumes that Gaedel was not a young boy, but was eighty years of age; the numbers of the drowned Egyptians are reduced.

Sru, not Nel, is the contemporary of the Red Sea disaster, and leaves Egypt immediately in R¹. In R²R³ Sru is the fourth descendant from Nel, who is the contemporary of the disaster—also KKg.

In R²R³ Tuir follows Cineris immediately as King of Egypt. K agrees. Kg (who calls Tuir "Intuir") interpolates five kings.

Sru had 4 ships R²R³R³: K says 50. Kg merely quotes a poetical extract specifying 4.

Scota accompanied her descendants to Scythia in their flight and died immediately after landing, R² only: K follows, not Kg.

The simultaneous deaths of Sru and Nerual are attributed to a plague in K only. K is unique in supplying the Scythian king with a brother, Baath, who aids him in the fight against the followers of Sru.

Agnomain kills Refloir R¹. Mil kills him, R²R³; the latter gives the Agnomain story as an alternative. In KKg the slayer is Agnomain.

The remaining incidents of the section are shuffled like the cards of a pack by the different authorities. We may tabulate them thus—

A ^a	Agnomain banished from Scythia after slaying Refloir.
A ^m	Mil banished from Scythia after slaying Refloir.
B ^a	Assault of the Sirens.
B ^a	Assault of the Amazons.
C ^m	Journey via Shab Riffe (and Caicher's prophecy) to the Maeotic Marshes.
C ^a	Journey to Egypt.
D ^e	Birth of Eber Glunfind.
D ^m	Birth of Mil.
E ^b	Brath leads the Gaedil to Spain.
E ^m	Mil leads the Gaedil to Spain.
G ^a	Mil marries Scota.
G ^g	Mil marries Seng.

—and on analysis we shall find that

R¹ has A^aB^aC^mD^eE^b. In this text Mil is never mentioned in the present section.

R² has A^mC^eG^{ta}B^aE^m.

R³ has G^{ns}A^mC^eG^{ta}B^aB^aE^m followed by the R¹ sequence as an alternative story.

In K we find A^aB^aC^mD^eE^b as in R¹: then D^m in Spain, whence Mil returns to Scythia, and G^{ns}. He then slays what must be supposed to be a later Refloir, followed by the first version of R³ with numerous interpolations, such as an interview with the Cruithne; and with the omission of B^aB^a.

Kg follows the same lines as K, but he introduces B^aB^a after A^a, and substitutes Gothia^a for the Macotic Marshes. In Spain he is puzzled by the double leadership of Brath and of Bregon, and thus duplicates the city founded in Spain—Braganza is founded by Brath and Brigansia by Bregon.

Both these late writers have been misled by the alternative versions of the Scythian vendetta in R³. They have mistaken them for successive events, but knowing that Agnomain preceded Mil genealogically they have transposed them, inventing the clumsy device of "a visit to his kinsfolk" to bring Mil back to Scythia in order to have the second version fitted in. This is more than a mere literary curiosity: it is a most instructive illustration of the evolution of this kind of historical tradition. The story has developed on two lines. A compiler, finding the two versions, combined them as alternatives: later compilers fused the two versions into one story. Many duplicates, both of personality and of incident, are to be found in the text before us, and they are all to be explained in the same way.

For example, most of the eight sons of Mil form duplicate pairs. Colptha and Donn are eponymous intrusions, designed to explain certain place-names: but for the rest, Eber and Eremon, Amair-gen and Ir, (F)eb rua and Erannan pair off together, and the pairs are all variants of a single pair.

In another respect the later writers are instructive. They wrote when writing-materials were becoming cheap, and they could afford to spread themselves in a way which would be

^a Clearly by a confusion of Gothia with Gaethlaige.

impossibly extravagant to their predecessors. They set down on paper discussions which in the days of waxed tablets and expensive parchment would be left to the spoken word. Keating was not the only historical student who spent an infinity of futile energy in seeking to reconcile the obvious chronological and topographical discrepancies in the matters with which he dealt; they are so obvious that they must have constantly provoked discussion and controversy. Both Keating and O'Clery fill in outlines which are merely sketched in the earlier texts, and which must have been filled in *viva voce*. For example, the earlier texts merely say that the Sirens caused the mariners to sleep; that they subsequently devoured them is left to be understood, but is set forth in black and white by K and Kg.

O'Clery had opinions of his own about some of the matter which he copied, and we know from his own pen that only the command of his ecclesiastical superiors prevented him from altering whatever seemed to him incorrect or disagreeable.⁴ This admission throws a shadow of doubtfulness over all his work. In the text before us he regularly changes "Milid" back to "Golamh," and makes a number of other minor verbal alterations. Thus, he compares Lamfhind's hands, not to candles, but to the more dignified "lamps" (*tochranna*). He suppresses the Amazon episode, probably because he considered it inconsistent with the dignity and prowess of Mil. On the whole his favourite text seems to belong to R², but he had R³ in constant use, and occasionally, perhaps, referred to L or to some closely related text. Kg seems to depend chiefly on R³.

⁴ See Plummer, *Colophons and Marginalia of Irish Scribes* (Proceedings, British Academy, xii (1926), p. 33).

SECTION II.

Min. and First Redaction.

Min.

R¹.

(μΛ 26 α 5: μR 91 β 24.)

(L 1 γ 8: F 1 δ 22.)

103. ¹Atherait araile com-
bad ²Baadh mae Ibaid meic
³Gomer meic ⁴Iafēdh,⁵ ⁊ is
ūad Gāidil ⁊ fir na Seithia:
⁊ mace do ⁶Feinius Farsaid.

Baath, ‡ 'in dara mac
Ibath,⁷ || ⁸meic Gomer meic
⁹Iafēth, is ūad Gāedil ⁊ fir
na ¹⁰Seithia. Mac dō, ¹¹in
fer amra airegda¹¹ diar bo
ainm ¹²Faenius Farsaid.
‡ ¹³Issē-side in ¹⁴dara
tōesech sechtmogat do
chōid¹⁴ do dēnam in Tuir
¹⁵Nebrōith, dīa ¹⁶ro scāiltea
na bērlai. ||

¹⁷Nebroth imorro feisin, mac
Chaus meic Chaim meic
Noe. Is e in Faenius remrate
tue Berla Fēne on Tur: ⁊ is
aice bui in seol mor oc foglaim
na n-il-berla.¹⁷

103. The text of Min. in this § follows μΛ, variants from μR unless otherwise stated; missing in μV
¹-berat ²Baad ³Goimeir
⁴-feth ⁵ins. me [Noe om.] ⁶Feinius Fars. — Variants in R¹
⁷⁻⁸ om. ⁹mac Goimer ¹⁰Iafet

103. Others say that
Baath was son of Ibath s.
Gomer s. Iafeth, and from
him are the Gaedil and the
people of Scythia: and
Feinius Farsaid was a son
of his.

Baath, [one of the two
sons of Ibath] s. Gomer
s. Iafeth, of him are the
Gaedil and the people of
Scythia. He had a son,
the noble eminent man
whose name was Feinus
Farsaid. [It is he who was
one of the seventy-two
chieftains who went for
the building of Nemrod's
Tower, whence the lan-
guages were dispersed.]

Howbeit, Nemrod himself
was son of Cush s. Ham s. Noe.
This is that Feinius aforesaid
who brought the People's
Speech from the Tower: and
it is he who had the great
school, learning the multiplicity
of languages.

¹¹Sgeithia ¹²⁻¹³in taissech amra airigda ¹⁴Feinius Farsaid
¹⁵is e siden ¹⁶⁻¹⁷darna taissech .lxx. dochuaid ¹⁸Nemhruid ¹⁹ro
sgailta na berll^a (sic, the sprs. vowels appear to be inserted in a different
ink) ²⁰⁻²¹om.

104. Dā mac la ¹Fenius
i. ²Noeniul, foracaib for
flaithius na Scithia dia ēis;
7 Nēl, ³in mac aile, 7 hicon
Tur rucad-side. Ocus ba
suī-side na n-il-⁴bēlra,
⁵conad hē rofucad ⁶ind
Ēigipt, do ⁷foglaim na n-il-
⁸bēlra ūad. ⁹Tānic imorro
¹⁰Foenius ond Assia dochum
na Scithia as a luid do
dēnom in Tuir⁸; conerbailt
⁹hi flaithius Scithia, ¹⁰hi
cend cethrachat bliadan, 7
dorad ¹¹tāisidecht dia mac,
de ¹²Noenal.

105. ¹Hi cind dā bliadain
²ar cethrachait iar scior ³in
Tuir, rogab Nīn mac ⁴Peil
rīgi ⁵in domain.

Dā mac imorro ¹³batar
oc Foenius: ¹⁴i. Noenual,
‡ in ¹⁵dala mac, || ¹⁶foracaib
i ¹⁷flaithius na ¹⁸Scithia dia
ēis; Nēl, in mac aile, ¹⁹icon
Tur ²⁰rucad-side. ²¹Ocus ba
²²suī-side na n-uile mbēlra,
conid aire tāncas ‡ ar a
chend || ō Foraind d'foglaim
na n-il-bēlra²² ūad.
Tānic imorro ²³Faenius
assind Assia dochum na
²⁴Scithia, assa l-luid do
dēnam in ²⁵Tuir²⁰; coner-
bailt ²⁷i flaithius na Scithia,
i cind cethrachat bliadan,
7 ²⁸co tarat tōesigeacht dia
mac, do ²⁹Noenual.

⁵Hi cind dā bliadan ceth-
rachat trā iar ndēnam⁵ in
Tuir, rogab Nīn mac Bēil
⁶rīge in ⁷domuin.

⁸Ar nī ro thriall neeh aile
smachtugud⁸ na tūath no na

104. ¹Feinius Farsaid ²obscured in μ_A by grease; looks like Noenul:
Fienuul (sic, the capital N being miswritten) forfacaib i flaithius na
Sceithia μR ³an mac ele 7 icon ⁴berla (bis) ⁵conide ⁶an
Egipt, a small g written above the ip ⁷foglaim ⁸tainic ⁹Feinius
on Aisia dochum na Scithia assa luid dochum na Scithi (sic) an tuir (sic)
¹⁰i flaith na Scith- ¹¹i cinn ¹²toisigeet ¹³Nenuul ———
¹⁴badar ic Feinius ¹⁵om. i.: Nenuul ¹⁶dara ¹⁷fodroacaib

104. Feinius had two
sons: Nenuul, whom he
left over the principedom of
Scythia behind him; and
Nel, the other son, and at
the Tower was he born.
Now he was a master of
the multiplicity of lan-
guages, so that it is he who
was taken into Egypt, to
learn from him the multi-
plicity of languages. But
Feinius came from Asia
to Scythia, whence he had
gone for the building of
the Tower; so he died in
the principedom of Scythia,
at the end of forty years,
and passed on the chieftain-
ship to his son, Nenuul.

105. At the end of forty
and two years after the
cessation of [work on] the
Tower, Ninus son of Belus
took the kingship of the
world.

Now Feinius had two
sons: Nenuul, [one of the
two], whom he left in the
principedom of Scythia be-
hind him; Nel, the other
son, at the Tower was he
born. Now he was a
master of all the languages;
wherefore one came [to
summon him] from Pharao,
in order to learn the multi-
plicity of languages from
him. But Feinius came
out of Asia to Scythia,
whence he had gone for
the building of the Tower;
so that he died in the
principedom of Scythia, at
the end of forty years, and
passed on the chieftainship
to his son, Nenuul.

For no other attempted to
exercise authority over the

¹⁸flaitus ¹⁹Sgeithia ²⁰ic ann ²¹rucad e ²²om. 7 ²³⁻²⁴suī
esiden is na hili berla conad ar a cenn sin tungsas o Forand flaith (lenition-
mark of t very faint) Egibt do oghloim na mberlad ²⁵Feinius asin Aissia
²⁶Sciathia ass do luid (a stroke over the second s sec. man.) ²⁷tulir
(ditto-graphy caused by change of line). ²⁸ins. Nemruaid i. Nemruad m.
Cuis m. Caim m. Nae ²⁹a flaitus (sic) Scithia a cind dā fchid bliadan
³⁰dorad taisigeacht ³¹Ninual.
105. ¹i cinn ²om. ar ³an (bis) ⁴Beil ——— ⁵a cin da

⁹n-il-chenēl do thabairt fō ¹⁰ōen
māin, ⁊ fo chīs¹⁰ ⁊ fo chāin, acht
¹¹seisium a ōenar. ¹²Tōesig
imorro batar ¹³and reme, i. in
fer ba ¹⁴hūasle ⁊ ba mō rāth
¹⁵issin tūaith, ¹⁶issē ba cend
comairle do chāch: no ¹⁷chois-
ced ceeh n-ēcoir, no gressed
ceeh¹⁷ cōir. ¹⁸Ni thriallad
insaigid no smacht cenēl aile.

106. Is ī sin ¹trā aimsir
²hi r-ro genair ³Gāidel
Glass—

⁴Is hī sein trā amser hi
ro genair Gāedel Glas ⁊
ōtat ⁵Gāedil ||, ō ⁶Scotta
ingen Fōraind. Is ⁷uadi
ainmnigtir “Seuitt” de
Gāedelaib, *ut dictum est*⁸

Fēne ō Fēcinus asbertar . .

107. — ro chum ¹in
mbērla tōbaide as na dīb
bērlaib sechtmogat: ²hit ē
innso a n-anmann-side —

Is ē ³Gāedel Glas ro
chum in nGāedilg¹ as na
dā bērla ²sechtmogat: ³it
ē inso ⁴a n-anmand-side,⁴
Betin, Seitin, etc.^(a) ⁵Unde
poeta cecinit

Bērla in domain, dēchaid lib . . .

feid bliadan ⁊ da deich tra ar nenam ¹rigi ²domain ³ar
nir triall nench aili smachtugadh ⁴hil-chenela L: n-ill-chenal do tabair
(a final t ye sprs.) F ¹⁰⁻¹²aen smacht i. fo chiss ¹¹aesium a aenur
¹²taissig ¹³ann (the stroke over the n ye) reime ¹⁴uasla wrongly in
O’Curry’s transcript of L: huaisli F ¹⁵isan ¹⁶is o ba cenn comairli
¹⁷⁻¹⁸choanad each ecoir no gresad each ¹⁹om. ni: do triallad insaigid
cenal ⁊ smachtugadh ar cenalaibh aili.

106. ¹om. ²om. hir. ³Goidil Glas — ⁴⁻⁵i sin tra
aimsir i rogenir Gadil Glas otait: *to this is is prefixed (sprs.) in a late and*

peoples or to bring the multi-
tude of nations under one
hand, and under tax and
tribute, but he alone. Afore-
time there had been chieftains:
he who was noblest and most
in favour in the community, he
it was who was chief counsellor
for every man: who should
avert all injustice and further
all justice. No attempt was
made to invade or to dominate
other nations.

106. That is the time
when Gaedel Glas was
born—

Now that is the time
when Gaedel Glas, [from
whom are the Gaedil] was
born, of Scots d. Pharao.
From her are the Scots
named, *ut dictum est*

Poem no. X.

107. — who formed the
Elect Language out of the
seventy-two languages:
these are their names —

It is Gaedel Glas who
fashioned the Gaelic lan-
guage out of the seventy-
two languages: these are
their names, Bithynian,
Scythian,^(b) etc. *Unde*
poeta cecinit

Poem no. XI.

bad hand. ¹Scota ingen Forain ²⁻³uad ainmnigter Sguir do Gaedilaib
amail isbert in fili.

107. ¹an berla ²it e innso a n-anmann (om. side). —
³⁻⁴Gaedil (om. Glas) do chum in Gaedelg ⁵sectmogat L: a lenition-
mark over the c in O’Curry’s transcript, but I cannot trace it in the MS.
⁶is iat so ⁷⁻⁸om. F; apparently also om. sL, and ye L ⁹is dia
chumnigad sin adbert in fili na briathra.

(a) See p. 78.

(b) See the note on this ||, and below, p. 148.

107A. [At this point Min. interpolates a version of the passage, beginning Ceithre randa (below, ¶ 142). Its readings are there recorded. The passage is not found in R¹.]

108. Srū ¹trā mac Esrū meic ²Gāidil, is ē ³tāisech do Gāidelaib luid a ⁴Hēigipt co ro ⁵bāigead Forann. Sechtmoga ⁊ ⁶ceitre cēt bliadan o ⁷dilind conaice sin.

Srū mac Esrū ⁸trā meic Gāedil, ⁹issē tōesech do ¹⁰Gāidelaib luid a ¹¹Hēigipt o ro ¹²bāided ¹³Foraind ⁊ ¹⁴conā slūag i n-Muir ¹⁵Rūaid, ¹⁶in degaid mac n-Israhel ⁊. Sechtmoga ⁊ secht cēt bliadain o dilind ¹⁷co sin.

¹⁸Ceathracha ⁊ ceithre cēt bliadan o n-amsir sin inār ¹⁹baidid Forann ⁊ o thainic Sru mac Esru a Heigept cosand n-amsir tānatar Meic Milidh in Erin i. Eber ⁊ Eremon : dia n-ebart¹⁸

Cethracha ⁊ ceithri cēt . . .

109. Lucht ceitre long luid Srū a ¹Hēigipt, ⁊ ceitre ²lānomna fíclit, ⁊ triar ³amus gach lunga.³ Srū ⁴⁊ a mac ⁵i. Eber ⁶Scott, batar eat tōisich na loingsi ⁷sin.

Lucht ¹²ceithri long luid Srū a ¹³Hēigipt ¹⁴⁊ ¹⁵ceithri lānamna fíclit eacha ¹⁶lunga, ¹⁷⁊ triar ¹⁸amus eacha ¹⁹lunga.¹⁷ Srū ⁊ a mac i. Eber ²⁰Scott, batar

108. ¹om. ²Goidil ³toisech: a full stop after Gaidelaib μR
⁴Hegipt ⁵baided Forainn ⁶uii. ⁷dilinn conici —
⁸om. ⁹is e toissach ¹⁰Gaedilib ¹¹Haeigift ¹²baid
¹³Forann ¹⁴om. cona slūag and m. ¹⁵Romuir for Ruaid l. ¹⁶in
cagaid mac n-issarthel ¹⁷conuici ¹⁸⁻¹⁹this passage and the appended
verse in F only: marks of contraction and lenition in ceathracha touched
up sec. man. ²⁰lenition-marks added to the d's sec. man.

108. Now Sru s. Esru s. Gaedel, he it is who was chieftain of the Gaedil who went from Egypt until (*sic*) Pharaos was drowned. Four hundred and seventy years from the Flood till then.

Now Sru s. Esru s. Gaedel, he it is who was chieftain for the Gaedil who went out of Egypt after Pharaos was drowned [with his host in the Red Sea in the wake of the sons of Israel]: Seven hundred and seventy years from the Flood till then.

Four hundred and forty years from that time in which Pharaos was drowned, and after Sru s. Esru came out of Egypt, till the time when the sons of Mil came into Ireland, to wit Eber and Eremon: whereant [one] said—

Poem no. XII.

109. Four ships' companies strong went Sru out of Egypt, with twenty-four wedded couples and three hirelings for every ship. Sru and his son

Four ships' companies strong went Sru out of Egypt. There were twenty-four wedded couples and three hirelings for every ship. Sru and his son

109. ¹Hegipt ²-amna ³⁻⁵amas eacha lungai ⁴om. ⁊ ⁵om. i.
⁶Scot ⁷om. sin ⁸⁻⁹búi Noenal ua Feiniusa i flaithius (a) ⁹ins. ⁊
¹⁰om. ¹¹richtain na — ¹²ceitri ¹³Eghept (*what looks like
an aspiration-mark, now very faint, inserted before the E in a later bad
hand* ¹⁴i. for ⁊ ¹⁵ceitri F: triar L, erased and ceithri substituted
¹⁶luingi (bis) ¹⁷⁻¹⁹ditto-graphed and erased L ²⁰amas ²¹⁻²²Scot, ba

(a) *alboth* has evidently dropped out of the Min. tradition; μR has doctored the text, but μA has been imperfectly successful in doing so.

† Is i sin aimsir ¹⁰Noenail na (sic) Feniusa, flatha^a na Scithia. || ⁹Marb Srū ¹⁰dana fōcētoir iar ¹¹riachtain Scithia.

110. Gabais Eber ¹Scott rīgi na Scithia † ²er ēcin || ōs clainn ³Noenuail, co torehair la ⁴Noenius mac ⁵Noenuail. Bāi cosnam etir Noenius ⁶γ ⁷Boamain mac Eber ⁸Scuitt. Gabais ⁷Boamain rīgi co ⁹torehair la ¹⁰Noenius. Rogab ¹¹trā ¹²Noenius ¹³flaitheas, co torehair la ¹⁴Hogomain mac Boamain an digail a athar. Rogab Ogamain rīgi conerbailt. Gabais ¹⁵Rephill mac Nemi rīgi co torehair la ¹⁶Taitt ¹⁷macc ¹⁸Ogamain. Do rochair ¹⁶Taitt iarom do ¹⁹lāimh Refloir meic ¹⁷Rephill. ²⁰Bōi cosnam

iat tōesig na l-longse.¹⁰
† Is ²⁰in tan sin atbath ²¹Noenuail mac Baath meic Noenuail meic Foeniusa Farsaid ²¹i. flaithe na ²²Scithia, ²³γ || ²⁴marb Srū ²⁵dana ²⁶fōchētōir ²⁷iar rochtain na Scithia.

Gabais Eber ²²Scott † ar ²³ēcin || rīge na Scithia ōs chlaid Noenuail,²³ ²⁴co torehair la Noemius mac Noenuail.²⁴ ²⁵Bōi cosnam ²⁶etir ²⁷Noimius γ ²⁸Boamain mac Eber Scuitt. Gabais ²⁸Boomain ²⁹rīge ³⁰co torehair la Noenus. Gabais Noinus flaitus co torehair la Hogaman mac mBoman i ndigail a ³¹athar. Gabais Ogaman rīgi³⁰ conerbailt. Gabais ³²Rifill mac ³³Noemi rīge co torehair la ³⁴Taitt mac Ogomain. Do rochair ³⁵Taitt iarom do lāim ³⁶Refloir meic Rifill. ³⁵Bōi cosnam ³⁷flathiusa ³⁸iarom

hiat taissig na loingsi sin ²⁰ann amsir ²¹⁻²²Nenuail uha (sic) (a) Feniusa rogab Noenuail mac Baath meic Nenuail meic Fenus (written Fēu;) Farsaid ²²Sgeithia ²³om. γ ²⁴barb ²⁵dono ²⁶fōchetoir L fōcēoir F ²⁷ar riachtain Scithia.

110. ¹Scot ²ar eicin ³Nenuail ⁴Naeinius ⁵Nenuail ⁶ins. mac Nenuail ⁷Boamin (bis) ⁸Scuit ⁹torehair ¹⁰Noimius ¹¹om. ¹²Naeinius ¹³rīgi ¹⁴Hogomain m. Boamin ¹⁵Refill (bis) ¹⁶Taitt (bis) ¹⁷macc ¹⁸om. μ_A (sic) ¹⁹laim ²⁰bai ²¹Aghnon m. Taitt — ²²Scot ²³⁻²⁵eigin rīgi na Sgeithia os claid Nenuail

Eber Scot, they were the chieftains of that expedition. [That was the time of Nenuail grandson of Feniuis, prince of Scythia.] Sru died immediately after reaching Scythia.

110. Eber Scot took the kingship of Scythia [by force] from the progeny of Nenuail, till he fell at the hands of Noemius s. Nenuail. There was a contention between Noemius and Boamain s. Eber Scot. Boamain took the kingship till he fell at the hands of Noemius. Noemius took the principedom till he fell at the hands of Ogamain s. Boamain in vengeance for his father. Ogamain took the kingship till he died. Refill s. Noemius took the kingship till he fell at the hands of Tat s. Ogamain. Thereafter Tat fell at the hands of Refloir s. Refill.

Eber Scot, they were the chieftains of the expedition. [It is then that Nenuail s. Baath s. Nenuail s. Feniuis Farsaid, prince of Scythia, died: and] Sru also died immediately after reaching Scythia.

Eber Scot took [by force] the kingship of Scythia from the progeny of Nenuail, till he fell at the hands of Noemius s. Nenuail. There was a contention between Noemius and Boamain s. Eber Scot. Boamain took the kingship till he fell at the hands of Noemius. Noemius took the principedom till he fell at the hands of Ogamain s. Boamain in vengeance for his father. Ogamain took the kingship till he died. Refill s. Noemius took the kingship till he fell at the hands of Tat s. Ogamain. Thereafter Tat fell at the hands of Refloir s. Rifill.

²⁴⁻²⁶om. ²⁶bi (bis) ²⁶itir (bis) ²⁷Noinus (written Noiu; hio et ubique, except Noenu; once) ²⁸Boaman (bis) ²⁹rīgi ³⁰⁻³²om. L ³¹athair ³²Reifill ³³Nemin rīgi ³⁴Tait m. Ogaman ³⁵Tait iaram ³⁶Refloir meic Refill ³⁷flathiusa ³⁸om. iaram: O'Curry's transcript of L inserts here Rifill meic, but I cannot trace or find room for these

(a) The ms. has the appearance as though the scribe first wrote ula, and he or another afterwards changed the l to an h in ink of a slightly different colour.
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iarom etir Refloir mac ²⁶etir Refloir mac ³⁰Noemi
 Refill ⁊ Agnon mac Tait, ⁊ ⁴⁰Agnon mac Taitt, co
 co torchair Refloir la torchair Refloir ⁴¹la
²¹Hadnon mac Taitt. Hagnon.⁴¹

111. Conid aire sin ro ¹⁸Conid aire sin ro
 hindarbtha sīl ²nGāidil innarbat¹⁸ sīl ¹⁸Gāedil for
 for muir, i. ³Adnon ⁊ muir, i. ²⁰Agnomain ⁊
⁴Lāmhfīnd a mac, com- Lāmhfīnd a mac, co mbatar
 batar secht mbliadna for secht mbliadna for muir
 muir ⁵timecell in domain ²¹timechiull in domain
⁶atūaidh. Is lia tuirim ⁊ ²²atūaid. Is lia ²³tuirim an
 aiséis in ro ⁷chēsatar do ro ²⁴chēsatar d'ule. † Is
 ulee. † Is aire tucadh aire thucad Lāmhfīnd for
⁸Lāmhfīnd fair, ar nī ⁹mō mac ²⁵Agnomain, ar nī ba
 badis soillsi ¹⁰coinnle ¹¹in- mō soillsi chaindell andate²⁵
 daat ¹²a lāmha hicon imrum. a lāma ²⁶ocond imram. ||
 || Teora longa dōib, ⁊ Trī longa dīb, ⁊ cengal
¹³cengul eturro [. . .] fri ²⁷eturru, na digsed cāch dīb
 araile.¹³ Trī ¹⁴tōisig batar ²⁸tōisig batar
 acco iar n-ēc Adhnoin¹⁴ ²⁹accu iar n-ēc ³⁰Agnon
 forsin ¹⁵muineind mōir- ³³forsin muineind mōir-
 mara Caisp i. ¹⁶Lāmhfīnd mara Caisp i. ³⁴Lāmhfīnd ⁊
 ⁊ ¹⁷Alldoit ⁊ Caicher drui. ³⁵Alldoit ⁊ ³⁶Caicher drui.

words in the original MS. They are not in F. ³⁰Noime ⁴⁰Ogaman
 m. Tait now lost from L: restored from O'Curry's transcript ⁴¹⁻⁴¹om.
 111. ¹-ta ^μΛ innarbtha ^μR ²om. n. ³Agnon ⁴Lāmhfīnd
⁵timecell an ⁶atūaid ⁷chesastar ⁸Lāmfinn ⁹ba mor
¹⁰written oile ^μΛ: cainnle ^μR ¹¹indat ¹²a lama ocun ¹³⁻¹³cach
 dīb a cengal fri araile ¹⁴⁻¹⁴tōisich doib iar nēc Agnon ¹⁵muineinn mōir-
¹⁶Lāmfinn ¹⁷Elloit ——— ¹⁸⁻¹⁸con aire sin ro hindarbad ¹⁹nGāedil
²⁰Agnon ⁊ Lāmfind (the latter hic et semper) ²¹timecell ²²atūaidh
²³tuirim: then follows si which has been erased and annsin do substituted
²⁴cesadar ²⁵⁻²⁵nAgnoin ar na ba soillsi caennell annit ²⁶ocon n.
²⁷⁻²⁷aturru na dehsad each o cheilli ²⁸taissaig ²⁹aca ³⁰Agnoin
³¹isin muineid (sic) mara. The sin of forsin not traceable in L, restored

Thereafter there was a
 contention between Refloir
 s. Refill and Agnomain s.
 Tat, till Refloir fell at the
 hands of Agnomain s. Tat.

Thereafter there was a
 contention for the prince-
 dom between Refloir
 [grand]son of Noemius and
 Agnomain s. Tat, until
 Refloir fell at the hands of
 Agnomain.

111. For that reason was
 the seed of Gaedel driven
 forth upon the sea, to wit
 Agnomain and Lamfhind
 his son, so that they were
 seven years upon the sea,
 skirting the world on the
 north side. More than can
 be reckoned or related are
 the hardships which they
 suffered. [The reason why
 he was called Lamfhind
 was, because not greater
 used to be the radiance of
 a candle than his hands at
 the rowing.] They had
 three ships with a coupling
 between them <that they
 should not separate> from
 one another. They had
 three chieftains after the
 death of Agnomain on the
 surface of the great
 Caspian Sea, Lamfhind and
 Allot and Caicher the druid.

For that reason was the
 seed of Gaedil driven forth
 upon the sea, to wit
 Agnomain and Lamfhind
 his son, so that they were
 seven years on the sea,
 skirting the world on the
 north side. More than can
 be reckoned are the hard-
 ships which they suffered.
 [The reason why the
 name Lamfhind was given
 to the son of Agnomain
 was, because not greater
 was the radiance of candles
 than his hands, at the
 rowing.] They had three
 ships with a coupling
 between them, that none of
 them should move away
 from the rest. They had
 three chieftains after the
 death of Agnomain on the
 surface of the great
 Caspian Sea, Lamfind
 and Allot and Caicher the
 druid.

from O'Curry's transcript ³¹The f in Lāmfind and similar names never
 dotted in F: find ⁊ Alldoit . . . drui now lost from L, restored from
 O'Curry's transcript ³²Alloth ³³Caicer drai.

112. Is ē Caicher dorat dōib ¹leges ²for medradh na mūdūchunn,² i. cēir do ³leghadh na clūasaib. ⁴Conus ruce in gōeth isin ⁵oceian mōr, co ro ⁶cēsaiset mōr ⁷ngorta ⁊ n-ītadh; co torachtatar i ⁸cind seclit-mainne in rind mōr otā Slēib Ripli fotūaidh,⁸ conid ⁹isin rind sin fuaratar ¹⁰topur co mblās fīna, co ro ¹¹loingsit ann, ¹²⁊ batar trī ¹³lāithe ⁊ teora haideche ann i n-a eodlad: ¹⁴conerbairt Caicher friu: ¹⁵Ēirgidh, nī ¹⁶anfum de co ¹⁷risem co Hērinn. Cia ¹⁸airm atā Ēriu? ar ¹⁹Lāmfinn. ²⁰Is sia ūait indā in Scithīa, ⁊ nī ²¹sinni fēin ²²roslicea ar chenn, acht ār clann, hi cind trī cēt mbliadan.²²

Is ē in ²³Cacher ²⁴drui ²⁵dorat ²⁶in leges dōib, ²⁷dia mboi in mūdūchand oca medrad,²⁷ i. ²⁸bōi in cothud oca forrach ²⁹frisin ecōl. Is ē ²⁹in ³⁰leges fuair Cacher dōib, i. cēir do legad na ³¹clūasaib. Is ē Cacher ³²ro rāid friu, dia ³³ruce in gāeth ³⁴mōr iat ³⁵issin n-ocian, ³⁶co ro chēsaiset mōr re gortai ⁊ re hīttaid and: co torachtatar i cind³⁶ seclit-mainne ³⁷in rind mōr atā a Slīab Rifi fo thūaid: ³⁸conid isin rind sin ³⁹fuaratar topur co mblās ⁴⁰fīna, co ro longset and, co mbatar trī laa ⁊ teora aideche⁴⁰ na ⁴¹cothud andsin. Conerbairt Cacher drui,⁴¹ Ērgid, ar sē, ⁴²nī anfan ⁴³co r-risam Hērind. ⁴⁴Cia hairm atā ⁴⁵ind Hēriu? ar Lāmfind mac ⁴⁶Agnōin. Is ⁴⁷fate, ar ⁴⁸Cacher, andās in Scithīa, ⁊ nī sind fēin rie, ar Cacher,

112. ¹om. ²⁻³ ar medrad na mūdūchonn ³legad ina ⁴conarne in gaeth ⁵ocian mōr siar ⁶-sed ⁷ngortaid ⁊ itaid ann ⁸⁻⁹ cinu taehtmainne i rinn mōr otha Slīab Rife fotuaid ⁹om. isin: rinn-sin ¹⁰tobar ¹¹-set ¹²om. ⁊ ¹³la ⁊ .iii. aideche ¹⁴condebairt ¹⁵-gid ¹⁶anfan, the f yo μR ¹⁷risam Ērinn ¹⁸hairm ita lan Er, the la (an erroneous anticipation of Lāmfind) partly erased ¹⁹Lāmfinn ²⁰isia and om. uait ²¹sinne ²²⁻²³rie acht ar clann hi cinn .ccc. bliadan — ²⁴Caicer hic et semper ²⁵om. ²⁶dorind F: this word defaced in L by grease: O'Curry's transcript gives dorigni leges, but his i should be ī (= in) and the letter before it is certainly c. The preceding a is not quite so clear, but the letter can hardly be anything else: and the p before that, though faint, is beyond doubt. Dorigni is

112. It is Caicher who gave them a remedy against the melody of the Sirens, namely to melt wax in their ears. So the wind took them into the great Ocean, and they suffered much of hunger and thirst; till at the end of a week they reached the great promontory out northward from the Rhipaeen Mountain, and in that promontory they found a spring with the taste of wine, and they feasted there, and were asleep there three days and three nights. But Caicher said to them: Rise, we shall not rest therefrom till we reach Ireland. What place is 'Ireland'? said Lamhind. It is further from thee than Scythia, and not we ourselves shall reach it, but our children, at the end of three hundred years.

It is Caicher the druid who gave the remedy to them, when the Siren was making melody to them: sleep was overcoming them at the music. This is the remedy which Caicher found for them, to melt wax in their ears. It is Caicher who spake to them, when the great wind drave them into the Ocean, so that they suffered much with hunger and thirst there: till at the end of a week they reached the great promontory which is northward from the Rhipaeen Mountain, and in that promontory they found a spring with the taste of wine, and they feasted there, and were three days and three nights asleep there. But Caicher the druid said: Rise, said he, we shall not rest until we reach Ireland. What place

however a preferable reading, and appears in *Q ²⁸om. in ²¹⁻²⁷diambai in mūdūchann aca mbregud ²⁸⁻²⁹bi in collad ea forarrach ³⁰om. in ³⁰leig; ³¹om. and yo L ³²adubairt ³³rosfue ³⁴om. mor iat ³⁵isin aecan ³⁶⁻³⁸cor cessadar mor do gorta ⁊ ditaid and co torchrat a cind ³⁹i rind moir o tsleib Rifi fo tuaid ⁴⁰conad ⁴¹fuadarad tobair ⁴²⁻⁴⁴fina cor loingsid ann combadar tri la ⁊ tri haidechi (an accidental blot, not a lenition-mark, above and to the right of the d) ⁴⁵⁻⁴⁶eodlad annsin conerbairt (sic) Caicer drai ⁴⁷ins. ⁊ ⁴⁸co raisim Ēr ⁴⁹Ca ⁵⁰om. ind: Er ⁵¹Agnomaid ⁵²fata ⁵³⁻⁵⁴Caicer drai inan Sgethia ⁊ nī

acht ár cland riefat, i cind
trí ⁴⁸chét mbliadan óndiu.⁴⁸

113. Gabsat ¹imorro is na
Gaethlaigib ²Medontacda,
γ is ³andsin rucad mac do
⁴Lāmfind, i. Eber Glūn-
find⁴ † i. ⁵comarthai gela
batar for a ⁶glūinibh ||. Is
ē ba tōisech ⁷dar ēis a
athar. ⁸Hua dōside Febri
† Glass ||, hua dōside
Nuadho.⁸

⁹His aire ¹⁰dono ro ¹¹hindarb-
tha Gāidil asin Seithia, i
¹²cinaidh ¹³marbtha Refloir
meic ¹⁴Rephill meic. ¹⁵Noemi
meic Noenuail meic Baath
meic Ibaith meic ¹⁶Foeniusa
Farrsaid.

114. Brath mac ¹Deatha
meic^(a) Ercada meic Alldoit
meic Nuadat meic ²Noenu-
aill meic Febri Glaiss meic

¹⁷Gabsat iarsin ¹⁸na
Gaethlaige Meotecda, ¹⁹acus
is ²⁰andsin rucad mac do
Lāmfind, i. Eber Glūnfind
† ²¹i. ²²comartha gela
²³robatar for a ²⁴glūinib ||. Is
Is ²⁵hē ba tōisech dar ēis
²⁶a athar. Ua ²⁷dōside,
Febri † ²⁸Glūnfind ||, ua
²⁹dōside, ³⁰Nuado.

Brath^(b) mac Deatha meic
³¹Ercada meic ³²Elloith
meic ³³Nuadat meic
³⁴Noenuail meic ³⁵Febri

sin fen reichfis acht ar cland a cind trí. e.e.e. bliadan oniu (bliadan sprs.
sF) ⁴⁸chét in O'Curry's transcript, wrongly.

113. ¹om. ²Medote γ is annsin ³the -sin sprs. γc μΛ ⁴Laimfinn
... Glunfinn ⁵comarda ⁶gluinib ⁷tar ⁸na dosin Febria Glas
ua do-saide Nuada ⁹is ¹⁰dana ¹¹innarbtha Goidil ¹²cinaid

(a) Written mēc μΛ.

(b) This genealogy in a marginal column in L.

is that 'Ireland'? said
Lamfhind s. Agnomain.
Further than Scythia is
it, said Caicher. It is
not ourselves who shall
reach it, but our children,
at the end of three hundred
years from today.

113. Then they settled in
the Maeotic Marshes, and
there a son was born to
Lamfhind, Eber Glunfhind:
[white marks which were
on his knees]. It is he
who was chieftain after
his father. His grandson
was Febri [Glas], his
grandson was Nuadu.

This is why the Gaedil were
driven forth from Scythia, for
the crime of slaying Refloir s.
Refill s. Noemius s. Nenuail
s. Baath s. Ibaith s. Foenius
Farrsaid.

114. Brath s. Death s. Ercha
Ercha s. Allot s. Nuadu s. s. Allot s. Nuadu s. Nenuail
Nenuail s. Febri Glas s. s. Febri Glas s. Agni Find
Agni s. Eber Glunfhind s. s. Eber Glunfhind s.

¹³om. ¹⁴Refill ¹⁵Noemil m. Nenuail ¹⁶Feniusa — ¹⁷gabsad
¹⁸is na Gaethlaigib Meobaeda ¹⁹om. γ ²⁰annsin ²¹om. i.
²²comartada ²³badar ²⁴glunib L ²⁵⁻²⁶e ba taissach deis ²⁷oopi (bis)
which might be either dosin or doside F. It is dofe in L ²⁸sic L, Gl. F:
it should be Glas ²⁹Nuada.

24 SECTION II.—EARLY HISTORY OF THE GAEDIL.

Agni meic Ēbir ³Glūnfind
⁴meic Lāimfind⁴ meic
⁵Agnoin meic Thaitt meic
 Ogomain⁵ meic Beoamain
 meic Ēbir Scuit.

Glais meic ⁵⁶Agni Fīnd
 meic Ēbir ⁵⁷Glūnfind meic
 Lāmfind meic ⁵⁸Agnomain
 meic ⁵⁹Thait meic ⁶⁰Oga-
 main ⁶¹meic Boomain meic
 Ēbir Scuit meic Srū meic
 Esrū⁶¹ meic ⁶²Gāidil ⁶³Glais
 meic Niūil meic Feiniusa
 Farsaig.⁶³

Occe 7 ⁶Ucce da mac ⁷Alldoit
 meic ⁸Noenail meic Nemid
 meic ⁷Alldoit meic ⁹Ogomain
 meic Thotachta [meic] Theth-
 righ⁹ meic Ēbir Duib meic
⁷Alldoit meic Agnoin. Mantan
 mac Caichir meic ¹⁰Ercadha
 meic ¹¹Coemhehta meic
 Soethachta¹¹ ¹²meic Mantan¹²
 meic Caicher ¹³drūad.

Is ē Brath mac ¹⁴Deatha
 tānic assin nAlbain air-
 teraig¹⁴

Is ⁶⁴hē in Brath ⁶⁵tānic
 as na ⁶⁶Gaethlaigib

do crīch Narboscorda, dar
 sruth nEoxanda, dar Slebi
¹⁵Riphi, do na ¹⁶Goethlaigi
 Meotachdai, co Muir ¹⁷Torren,
 dar cumgaib ¹⁸fotaib Mara
 Torrian do ¹⁹Eilispoin, dar in
²⁰n-ucht Maieidonda ²¹don ucht
²²Pamphilecda, dar inis Tir do
 inis Crēit, do inis ²³Caissiop,
 dar inis ²⁴Cephail, do inis
 Crēit, do Murruse na Pelorda,
 do inis Siel, dar ²⁵cenn Slēbe

iar fut Mara Torrian do
⁶⁷Chrēit, 7 do ⁶⁸Shicil. Rōisit
 co Hespāin iarsain.

SECTION II.—EARLY HISTORY OF THE GAEDIL. 25

Lamfhind s. Agnomain s.
 Tat s. Ogamain s. Boamain
 s. Eber Scot.

Lamfhind s. Agnomain s.
 Tat s. Ogamain s. Boamain
 s. Eber Scot s. Sru s. Esru
 s. Gaedel Glas s. Nel s.
 Feinius Farsaid:

Occe and Ucce, two sons of
 Allot s. Nenuail s. Nemed s.
 Allot s. Ogamain s. Toitcheht
 [s.] Tetrech s. Eber Dub s.
 Allot s. Agnomain. Mantan s.
 Caicher s. Ercha s. Coemthecht
 s. Soethecht s. Mantan s.
 Caicher the druid.

This is that Brath s.
 Death who came out of
 Eastern Albania

it is that Brath who
 came out of the Marshes

to the land of Narboscorda,^(a)
 over the Euxine River,^(b) across
 the Rhipaeian Mountain, to the
 Maeotic Marshes, to the Torrian
 Sea, by the long straits of the
 Torrian Sea to the Hellespont,
 by the Macedonian Gulf to the
 Pamphylian Gulf, by the island
 of Tyre to the island of Crete,
 to the island of Coreyra, by
 the island of Cephallenia, to
 the island of Crete, to the shore
 of the Pelorians, to the island

along the Torrian Sea to Crete
 and to Sicily. They reached
 Spain thereafter.

(a) On this name see the notes.

(b) The Bosphorus.

Hetna, dar leth an Mara
²⁶Torren, do Sardain, do
²⁷Chorsie, do inis Sardi, darsin
²⁸Ler mBreeda, do ²⁹munciund
³⁰Gaidiain, do innsib Sab, do
³¹Cholomnaib Ercoil i. Talpes
³²Habenna a n-anmann, don
Gaeth ³³dianid ainm Coir, dond
³⁴Abhys ³⁵immettraigh ³⁶nem-
forenedhaigh, do ³⁷Espāin, do
³⁸Fidhdruimnibh ³⁹Pyrinetaib.

⁴⁰corgabsat ³⁷Espāin ar Gabsat Hespāin ar ecin.⁶⁸
ecin :

⁴¹ fichset ceithre catha cōicat
⁴²forro ō thūs co ⁴³deireadh :
γ ⁴⁴co ro cumtacht ⁴⁵cathraich
⁴⁶and la ⁴⁷Bregunn mac
Bratha. Ocus ⁴⁸turgaib tor ann
ar a hinceaib, conid ⁴⁹ass
atehess Eriu iarom, ⁵⁰hi fescor
gaimhrigh.⁵⁰

114. ¹ Death m. Erchada m. Alloit ² Nenuail m. Eb. Glais ³ -finn
⁴⁻⁴ om. μ_A ⁵⁻⁵ Tait m. Tait (sic) m. Ogamain ⁶ Uicee ⁷ Alloit (ter)
⁸ the e sprs. ye μ_A : Noinel μ_R ⁹⁻⁹ Ogamain m. Totachta Tetrig
¹⁰ Erchada ¹¹⁻¹¹ Coemtehta m. Soeta ¹²⁻¹² om. μ_R ¹³ druadh and
ins. m. Eber Scuit ¹⁴⁻¹⁴ Death tainic asin Albain airtheraig ¹⁵ Rife
¹⁶ Gaethlaighib Medetē ¹⁷ Toirr- ¹⁸ fota Mara Toirren ¹⁹ Elispoint
²⁰ om. n. ²¹ donducht ²² pilecdai ²³ Caisioib ²⁴ Cepail
²⁵ ceann Sleibe Ethna ²⁶ Toirren ²⁷ Coirsie ²⁸ Leribreda
²⁹ -cind ³⁰ -diani ³¹ col. ³² Abennai ³³ a faint dot over the d μ_A :
dianad μ_R ³⁴ aihys ³⁵ -chtraich ³⁶ dot of lenition over g very
faint μ_A -nedaigh ³⁷ Hesp- (bis) ³⁸ fiddruimnib ³⁹ Pymetaib μ_A
⁴⁰ corgabsat ⁴¹ om. μ_R ⁴² ins. caechat (a) fised : forru tús ⁴³ déad

of Sicily, across the top of
Mount Etna, by the side of the
Torrian Sea, to Sardinia, to
Corsica, to the island of Sardis,
over the Balearic Sea to the
surface of the Strait of
Gibraltar, to the Strong
islands,^(c) to the Columns of
Hereules, (Calpe [and] Abyla
are their names) to the swamp
called Coir, to the outmost
bottomless abyss [the Atlantic
Ocean], to Spain, to the
Pyrenaean wood-ridges

till they took Spain by force. They took Spain by
force.

And they fought fifty and
four battles there first and last,
and a city was built there by
Bregon s. Brath. And he
erected a tower there to protect
it, and thence was Ireland seen
thereafter, on a winter evening.

both MSS. ⁴⁴ conrotacht ⁴⁵ co traig μ_A ⁴⁶ ann ⁴⁷ Bregainn m.
Bratha ⁴⁸ tureaib ⁴⁹ ann atces ⁵⁰⁻⁵⁰ om. ⁵¹ Erchadha
⁵² Alloit ⁵³ Nuadhaid ⁵⁴ Nenuail ⁵⁵ Febrig ⁵⁶ Agnoin Find
⁵⁷ Gluinfind ⁵⁸ Agnamaid ⁵⁹ Tait ⁶⁰ Ogaman ⁶¹⁻⁶¹ om. and ins.
sec. man. in upper marg. of column : m. Beomain m. Ebir Scuit i. (sic)
Sru m. Esru ⁶² Gaedil ⁶³⁻⁶³ om. and ins. o tait Gaedil ⁶⁴ o
⁶⁵ ins. sin (b) ⁶⁶ Gaethlaighibh ar fud ⁶⁷ Creit ⁶⁸⁻⁶⁸ Sicir γ do
riachtatar co Esbain iar sin : gabsad Esbain ar ecin.

(a) Although .iiii. catha is written just before.

(b) Brath sin in F looks as though it had been inserted in a different ink (*prima manu*). There is no trace of an erasure.

(c) See the note on this paragraph.

115. Agnon ¹dana mac ¹²Agnōn trā mac Taitt, Tait, is ē ²Gāedel-tōisech isse tōisech tānic de tānic asin² Scithia. ³Dā Gāelaib assin Scithia. Dā mac leis, Lāmfind ⁊ Elldoit. Aen mace Lāmfind,³ i. Eber ⁴Glūnfind. Mac ⁵dono ac⁵ Elloit i. Eber Dub, hi comainsir is na Gaethlaigib ro fuait. Dā ⁶hua occe^(a) ⁷hi comflaitius i. ⁸Toithecht mac Tetrig⁸ meic Eber Duib, ⁊ ⁹Noenual mac ¹⁰Febrigh meic Aigne¹⁰ meic Eber Glūnfind; ⁊ ¹¹Sothett mac Mantan meic Caicher.

²⁶Ucea ⁊ Occe, dā mac Aldoith ²⁷meic Noenil meic Nemid meic Alloid²⁷ meic ²⁸Ogamain meic Thoehta meic Teitrig meic Eber Duib meic Elloit.²⁶

116. Lucht cetheora long trā tancatar ¹Gāidil co ²¹Hes-pāin. Ceithre ³lān-omna ⁴dēce, ⁊ sē ⁵hamais cen mnā ⁶cecha lunga. ⁷Brath, lucht lunga. Ucea ⁊ Occe, ²⁴Ucea, ⁊ dā mac Alloit ||, lucht dā long: ⁊ dā brāthair

115. ¹om. ²⁻³Goidel-toisech tainic assin ³⁻³om. ⁴-finn ⁵⁻⁵dana ic ⁶ua ⁷i comflaith ⁸⁻⁸Toitech m. Tetrig ⁹Nenbual ¹⁰⁻¹⁰-brig m. Agni ¹¹Sothett m. Mantain ¹²⁻¹²Agnoman . . . Tait, isse Gaedil-toissach tainic asin Scethia. Da mac leis i. Lamfind ⁊ Alloth ¹³aen ¹⁴om. i. (bis) ¹⁵Glunfind ¹⁶ic Alloth F: O'Curry's transcript has don ic Elloth, which I cannot find in L ¹⁷the b under-

115. As for Agnomain s. Tat, Tat he is the Gaidil-leader who came forth from Scythia. He had two sons, Lamfhind and Allot. One son had Lamfhind, Eber Glunfhind. Allot had a son, Eber Dub: at the same time as <the sojourn> in the Marshes was he born. They had two grandsons in joint rule, Toithecht s. Tetrech s. Eber Dub and Nenual s. Febrigh s. Agni s. Eber Glunfhind; there was also Soithecht s. Mantan s. Caicher.

As for Agnomain s. Tat, he is the leader of the Gaedil who came out of Scythia. He had two sons, Lamfhind and Allot. Lamfhind had one son, Eber Glunfhind. Allot had a son, Eber Dub, at the same time as <the sojourn in> the Marshes. They had two grandsons in joint rule, Toithecht s. Tetrech s. Eber Dub, and Nenual s. Febrigh s. Agni s. Eber Glunfhind; there was also Soithecht s. Mantan s. Caicher.

Ucea and Occe, two sons of Allot s. Nenual s. Nemed s. Allot s. Ogamain s. Toithecht s. Tetrech s. Eber Dub s. Allot.

116. Four ships' companies strong came the Gaedil to Spain: in every ship fourteen wedded couples and six unwived hirelings. Brath, a ship's company. Ucea and Ucea, Four ships' companies strong came the Gaedil to Spain: in every ship fourteen wedded couples and seven unwived hirelings. Brath, a ship's company. Ucea and Occe,

dotted L ¹⁸comainsir ¹⁹⁻¹⁹ua aco i comlaitus i. Toitehta m. Teitrig ²⁰Nenuail ²¹Febrigh ²²Aigne ²³Glunfind ²⁴Sothehta ²⁵Caic- ²⁶⁻²⁶om. ²⁷⁻²⁷added sea. man. in marg. L ²⁸the m in Ogamain and the ee in Thoehta underdotted L [such underdotting, which has no obvious meaning, is a frequent feature of L].

(a) This form has probably arisen by confusion with the proper name Occe.

lucht dā long. Mantan, lucht ⁸lunge. Trī catha imorro ro brisetar: ⁹cath for ¹⁰Toseno, cath for ¹¹Bacra, cath for ¹²Longbardu. Co ¹³tānic tāmh dōib, conapthatar¹³ ceithre ar fichit dīb ¹⁴dē. ¹⁵Nocho tērno as na dā luing acht dā ¹⁶chōicfuir, ¹⁷im Ēn mac ¹⁸nOiecc 7 ¹⁷im Ūn mac ¹⁹nUece.

²⁵iat .i. dā ²⁶mac ²⁷Elloid meic ²⁸Noema meic Nemid meic Alloit meic Ogamain.²⁷ || Mantan²⁶ 7 ²⁹mac Cachir drūad meic Erchada meic Oitechta,²⁹ || lucht ³⁰lunga. ³¹Trī catha imorro ³²ro brissiset iar ndul in Espāin,³² .i. cath for ³³Tosceno, cath for Longbardu, cath for ³⁴Barchu. Co ³⁵tānic tām ³⁶forru, conapdatar³⁶ ceithre ar fichit dīb, im ³⁷Oecc 7 im Uece. Noco tērna ass na dā luing acht dā cūiger,³⁷ im Ēn mac ³⁸Oecc 7 ³⁹Ūn mac ³⁸Uece.

117. ¹Macc maith ²hic ³Bāi mac maith ic ⁴Brath, ⁵Brath, Breogond a ainm.³ .i. Bregon, candernad⁹ ¹⁰in Is ¹¹laiss ro cumdaighd⁴ Tōr ¹¹7 in ¹²chathir .i.

116. ¹Goidil ²Hespaine ³-amn. ⁴dée ⁵amais ⁶cech longa ⁷Brat dana lucht a lunga ⁸luinge ⁹ins. i. ¹⁰Toisenu ¹¹Bachra ¹²Longbarda ¹³⁻¹⁵tānic tam doib conaptatar ¹⁴om. ¹⁶nocha ¹⁷coicer ¹⁸um (bis) ¹⁹nUce ²⁰nUice ——— ²¹ceitri ²²Espain ²³⁻²⁵om. F. O'Curry's transcript has ceitri, but the mark of lenition is there, though very faint ²⁶⁻²⁸morfeisir amuj can a mna ²⁹⁻³¹Brat lucht luingi Oco 7 Uea ³²iad ³³mac underdotted L (bis) ³⁴⁻³⁷Alloith meic Nenuaill m. Nemid m. Alloith m. Ogaman m. Toitechta m. Teitrig m. Ehir Duib m. Alloith m. Oghaman ³⁸O'Curry and Facs. read this name Noenill: the ms. is not quite clear. The following name, Nemid, is torn from L

[the two sons of Allot], two ships' companies. Mantan, a ship's company. They broke three battles—one against the Tuscans, one against the Baera, one against the Lango-bardi. But there came a plague upon them, and four and twenty of their number died thereof. Out of the two ships none escaped, save twice five men, including En s. Oecc and Un s. Uece.

two ships' companies: [two brethren were they, the sons of Allot s. Nenuaill s. Nemid s. Allot s. Ogamain]. Mantan [s. Caicher the druid s. Ercha s. (Coemthecht^(b))] a ship's company. So they broke three battles after going into Spain: a battle against the Tuscans, a battle against the Lango-bardi, and a battle against the Barchu. But there came a plague upon them, and four and twenty of their number died, including Oecc and Uece. Out of the two ships none escaped, save twice five men, including En s. Oecc and Un s. Uece.

117. Brath had a good son, Breogan by name. By him was Braganza founded, Brath had a good son named Breogan, by whom was built the Tower and

and here restored from O'Curry's transcript ²⁸⁻²⁹om. F. The lenition-mark in Erchada is worn away, and omitted by O'Curry ³⁰luigi (sic) ³¹ins. mac Caicir meic Erchada m. Caemthecht m. Toithechta m. Mantan m. Caicir Drud fec[it profes]sim 7 (yc F sprs.) mac Ehir Echruaid m. Ogaman. (a) The letters in square brackets have been scraped away ³²⁻³³do brisid iar nul an Esbain ³⁴might be Toiscend L: Toisíncha 7 cath for Long barda F ³⁵Barcu ³⁶tānic ³⁷⁻³⁹fora conaptatar ³⁸⁻³⁹Oici 7 Uici cona terno as na da luing acht da .u. (da .u. also in L) ⁴⁰Uici (bis) ⁴¹ins. im.

(a) Written Ogaan.

(b) This is the right name; the ms. reading is incorrect.

Brigantia, ⁊ ⁵rognīth in ¹³Brigantia ainm na ¹⁴cath-
 Tor,⁵ *ut supra diximus.* rach. A Tur ¹⁵Bregoin
Unde Gilla ¹⁶Coeman inorro atchess Hēriu;
¹⁷cecinit— fescur lāthi gemreta
 atoscondaire¹⁵ Ith mac
¹⁶Bregoin, ¹⁷unde Gilla
 Coemain cecinit,¹⁷

Gāedel Glas ōtat Gāedil . . .

Second Reduction.

(V 2 β 6; E 2 α 9; P 2 β 30; D 3 δ 23.)

118. Ro ¹aitreb trā ²Nēll mac ³Foeniusa Farrsaid
⁴thes in ⁵nĒigipt.

⁶Issē ferand rogab, ar ⁷imlib Mara ⁸Rūaidhi, ⁊ im
 Capacirunt;^(a) ⁊ bāi andsin ⁹eo rossēlasad Meie Israhel ō
 Forand ⁊ ō ¹⁰slūagh Ēgipti. Ocus is ed dolotar Meie ¹¹Israel,
 for ¹²ind ēlod sain, cosin ferand a mbāi Nēll ⁊ a mac .i. ¹³Gāidel
 Glass. Ro gabsat trā Meie Israhel longport ¹⁴ie Capacirith,^(c)
 for brū Mara ¹⁵Rūaidi. Is ¹⁶andsin do riacht Nēll mac Fēniusā
 da ¹⁷n-acallaim; ⁊ is ¹⁸andsin doralā ¹⁹Arōn ⁊ brāthair Aprāim
 || do Nēll: ⁊ ro ²⁰indis Arōn dō scēla Mac nIsrahel, ⁊ ferta ⁊
 mirbuile ²¹Maisi, ⁊ amail tucait na dēce ²²plaga ⁊ foillsi
²³fiadnuise || for lueht na ²⁴Hēgipti trē na ndāerad-som. Ocus
 dō ²⁵snāidmsid caradrad annsin, ⁊ dober Nēll fīn ⁊ cruithnecht

117. ¹Mac ²la ³⁻⁴Brath brath (b) Bregaiun ainm ⁴⁻⁴leis ro
 cumdaiged ⁵⁻⁵úrognith (sic) an tor ⁶Coemain and om. cecinit ———
⁷bī ⁸⁻⁹Brat .i. Brogan i canernad ¹⁰om. in ¹¹ins. mBrogain
¹²chathair ¹³Brigansia ¹⁴catrach ¹⁵⁻¹⁵tur Brogain inero atches
 Er-, fescor gemrid (om. lathi) ideonaire ¹⁶Brogaind ¹⁷⁻¹⁷amail ro
 chan G. Caemhain.

118. ¹aittreabh trath E aitrebh P aithreb D ²Nel ED ³Feiniusā E
 Feniusa P ⁴tes an E theas P tes in D ⁵Eibipt (no g sprs. to b) E
 Egipt P Egipt D ⁶ise P. From here to ¶ 126 (1), om. ED and
 substitute: conerbailt ⁊ eo ro baided Forand Cingeris [Forainn Cineris D]

and the Tower made, *ut* the city — Braganza was
supra diximus. *Unde* Gilla the city's name. From
 Coemain cecinit — Breogan's Tower it was

that Ireland was seen; an
 evening of a day of winter
 Ith s. Breogan saw it.
Unde Gilla Coemain
 cecinit —

Poem no. XIII.

118. So Nel son of Feinius Farsaid dwelt southward
 in Egypt.

This is the estate which he received, upon the shores of the
 Red Sea, and around Phi-Hahiroth: and he was there till the
 Sons of Israel escaped from Pharaoh and from the host of Egypt.
 Now it fell out that the Sons of Israel, in that flight, came to
 the estate where Nel was, and his son, Gaedel Glas. The Sons
 of Israel took camp at Phi-Hahiroth, on the border of the Red
 Sea. Then Nel son of Feinius came to converse with them:
 and there Aaron [brother of Abraham (sic)] met Nel; and
 Aaron told him tidings of the Sons of Israel, and the miracles
 and marvels of Moses, and how the ten plagues—[a clearness of
 testimony!—were brought upon the people of Egypt by

i [im D] Muir Ruaidh. Do comblaisēt [comlaseit D] iarsin clanna Niuil
 ⁊ Scota ingine Foraind [-nn D] .i. [tas. hi D] ceithri longaib ⁊ ceithri
 [ceithri D, bis; an i, now very faint, sbs. the first time], etc. ¹imlip P
²Ruaidh P ³coruselait mic P ⁴sluag Egip, with t sprs. P
⁵Israhel V Israhel P ⁶inn elodh sin gusan bferann i mbai P ⁷-dh- P
⁸ig P ⁹Ruaidh P ¹⁰ann P (bis) ¹¹nagallam P ¹²Aaron P
¹³innis Arōn dō scēla P ¹⁴Maisi sprs. yc V; Maoissi P ¹⁵plagha P
¹⁶fiadnacha V fiadnuisecha P ¹⁷Heigipti tre na ndaorad-somh P ¹⁸-sit P

(c) In VP this is written as though two words; Capa cirunt, Capa cirith.

(b) Dittography due to change of line: a meaningless flourish added in ms. to the top of the a.

do tūathaib Dē do lōn. Ocus dochuaidh Arōn iarsin co hairin a mbāi ²⁵Maisse, ⁊ ro ²⁶indis dō ind ²⁷fāilte fuair ²⁸ie Nēl, ⁊ in maith ro ²⁹geall re ³⁰Macaib Israhel. Ocus ba buidech ³¹Maissi do Nēl de sin.

119. ¹Intussa Níul imorro, (a) issi ind ²áidehe sin ro benastair ³nathair neme ⁴frissin mac mbie ⁵rucad (b) do Níul, i. Gáidel Glas, ⁊ ro bo comfocús bass dō. † Co rop uaithe fuair-sin ainmniudugh i. Gáidel Glas. || Ocus rucad in mac ar amus Maissi, ⁊ dogni Maissi urnaiehi ndiera fri Dia, ⁊ dorat in fleise n-urdaire frissin inud in ro ben in nathair fris, cor bo slan ⁶in mac. Ocus ro ráid Maissi iar sin: Cet lem-sa, ar se, do chet Dia, na ro ireoitigi nathair don mac so, na duine dia sil co brath; ⁊ na ro aitreba nathair tir bunaig a clainde. Ocus bed, ol sē, riga ⁊ ruirigh, naim ⁊ fíreóin, do sil in meic so; ⁊ bídh an indsi tuaiscert in domain bias aitreb a chinigh. Conid adh sin fodera cen ⁷nathraaigh an Erin, ⁊ cen ureoit do ⁸denam do nathair fria duine do sil Gaidil Glais.

120. Is andsin ro ráidh Nēl: Doria Foram eucaind, ol se, ⁊ no dáerfa sinn, ar in failti doratsom daíbsi, ⁊ i cinaidh cen bar nasstod. Tair-⁹siu lindi, ol Maissi, con t'uilib muindteraib isin sligid ambairech, ocus madh ail duit, fígeba comroind forba issin tir ro tairngir Dia do Macaib Israhel. No mad ferr lat, doberam-ne liberna Foraind ar do commus, ⁊ eirigh indtib for muir, ⁊ fuirgid co fesar eindass seerum-ne ⁊ Forand, ⁊ dēna do chomairle assa haithle.

121. Docomlai in lín bāi is na longaib, ⁊ ro fuirig co féicedh gnímrada in lāi iar na mārach: i. dluigi Mara Rúaid in diaig in popuil, ⁊ badug Foraind cona slūagaib inti i. sē fíehit mili coisighi ⁊ cōica mile marcach, is e lín luid i n-daíl báis, do muindtir Foraind, i Muir Rúaid.

²⁵ Maisi P (bis) ²⁶ innis P ²⁷ failti P ²⁸ ag P ²⁹ geall P
³⁰ macuiph P.

119. ¹ thusa P ² aidhi P ³ an atair P ⁴ risin P ⁵ rug- P
⁶ in ye V (bis) ⁷ dittography of a due to a change of line ⁸ written
denom, the o changed to a.

reason of their enslavement. And they ratified a friendship there, and Nel gives wine and wheat to the peoples of God for provision. So Aaron went thereafter to the place where Moses was, and told him of the welcome which he had received at the hands of Nel, and the good which he promised to the Sons of Israel. Moses was grateful to Nel for that.

119. Now as for Nel, in that very night a serpent stung the little son that had been born to him, to wit Gaidel Glas, and death was near to him. [From that circumstance he received his name, Gaidel Glas.] And the lad was carried to Moses, and Moses made fervent prayer before God, and put the noble rod upon the place where the serpent had stung him, so that the lad was cured. And thereafter Moses said: I command, by the permission of God, that no serpent harm this lad, or any of his seed for ever; and that no serpent dwell in the homeland of his progeny. There shall be, he said, kings and lords, saints and righteous, of the seed of this lad; and in the northern island of the world shall be the dwelling of his race. This, then, is the reason why there are no serpents in Ireland, and why no serpent does harm to any of the seed of Gaidel Glas.

120. Then it is that Nel said: Pharaο shall come to us, said he, and shall enslave us, for the welcome that we have given you, and for the guilt of failing to hinder you. Come thou with us, said Moses, with all thy people, upon tomorrow's route, and if thou wilt, thou shalt receive an equal share of heritage in the land which God hath promised to the Sons of Israel. Or, if thou dost prefer, we shall put the pinnaces of Pharaο at thy disposal: embark ye therein upon the sea, and stand ye by, to know by what means we shall separate us from Pharaο, and thereafter do thy good pleasure.

121. The company that was in the ships set forth and they stood by to see the transactions of the following day: the division of the Red Sea in the wake of (sic) the people, and the drowning of Pharaο with his hosts therein—six score thousand footmen and fifty thousand horsemen, that is the tally which went to meet death, of the people of Pharaο, in the Red Sea.

120. ¹ siu 30 V.

(a) A sentence lost here from the R² text, but preserved in R³: see § 144.
(b) Here P breaks off. Till § 126 V is our only authority.

122. Othonaire imorro Nel Forand cona sluagaib do bádugh, ro an issind ferund cētna, ar ní bai namun air and: ⁊ ro forbair a cland ⁊ a sil in nEigipt iarsin, corsat milidh mōr-chalma a eland. Marb Nel iarsin iar cēin mair, isin nEigipt. Gabais Goedel Glas ⁊ a mathair in ferand, ⁊ ro genair mae do Gaedel iar sin, .i. Esru mae Gāidil: ⁊ ro genair mae dō-saiden is tīr cētna, .i. Sru mae Esru meic Gāidil Glais.

123. Dala sluaigh Eigipte imorro iarsin, gabais Forand Tuir in flaithus tar eis Foraind Cingeris. Ocus ba Forand tuilled anma cēch rīgh rogab Eigipt, otá Forand Cingeris co Faró Nectenibus. Ocus ba leside † in cōicedh rī trichat no || in cōicedh rī dée iar Forand Cingeris ro baidedh i Muir Ruaidh. Ocus ba ar cūis onóraigthe adbertha riú-son sin-sen.

124. Imtusa Foraind Tuir iarsin ⁊ sluaigh Eigipti, ó ro batar co tren, ro cuimhnigset an anbfolaib mbunaid do clandaib Niúil ⁊ d'fine ¹Gāidhīl, .i. a caratrad re macaib Israhel, ⁊ longa Foraind do breith do Niul leiss, in tan do eladar Meic Israhel. Ro moradh eoad ⁊ anbfolta for clandaib Niúil iarsin, co ro hindarbud a Hegipt iat.

125. Sru † ⁊ a mac, .i. Eber Scot ||, iss iat ba tuisich do Gaidelaib ie an indarba. Sechtmoga ⁊ secht cēt bliadan ó dilind conice sin: cethracha ⁊ ceithre cēt bliadan on aimsir sin inar báidedh Forand ⁊ ó hanc Sru mac Esru a Hegipt cosin nimsir i tancatar Meic Miled i Ereun. Dia nebrad,

Cethracha ⁊ cethri cēt . . .

126. Docomlaiset iarsain elanda Niu(i)l ⁊ Scota ingen Foraind .i. i cetri longaib, ⁊

¹ceitri lānamna ²fichet in ³cēch luīg, for Muir ⁴Rūaidh, do Inis ⁵Deprofāne, ⁶timchull ⁷Slēibe Rīphi ⁸atūaidh, co ⁹rāncatar Seithīa: ¹⁰⁊ consūisit im ¹¹flaithus Seithīa¹²

124. ¹ Gaidhīl ye V.

126. ¹ Here ED resume. .uii. (reinked as .iiiii.) V, ceitri ED ¹² at E

122. Now when Nel saw Pharaο with his hosts drowned, he remained upon the same estate, for he had no fear there: and his progeny and seed increased in Egypt thereafter, so that his progeny were warriors of great valour. Thereafter Nel died, after a long space, in Egypt. Gaedel Glas and his mother took the estate. Thereafter a son was born to Gaedel, Esru s. Gaedel: and to him was a son born in the same land, Sru s. Esru s. Gaedel Glas.

123. But as for the host of Egypt thereafter, Pharaο Tuir took the princedom after Pharaο Cineris. Now "Pharaο" was an additional name of every king who took Egypt, from Pharaο Cineris to Pharaο Nectanebus: and he was the [thirty-fifth—or] the fifteenth—king after Pharaο Cineris who was drowned in the Red Sea. It was for the sake of honouring them that this (name) was bestowed upon them.

124. As for Pharaο Tuir thereafter and the host of Egypt, when they attained strength, they called to mind their hereditary hostility against the progeny of Nel and the family of Gaedel: the friendship which these had shown to the Sons of Israel, and Nel's taking of the ships of Pharaο with him, when the Sons of Israel escaped. War and hostilities were increased upon the progeny of Nel thereafter, till they were expelled from Egypt.

125. Sru [and his son Eber Scot], they were the chieftains for the Gaedil at the expulsion. Seven hundred and seventy years from the Flood till then: four hundred and forty years from that time when Pharaο was drowned, and from when Sru son of Esru came out of Egypt, to the time when the Sons of Mīl came into Ireland. Whereanent this was said—

Poem no. XII.

126. Thereafter the progeny of Nel, and Scota daughter of Pharaο, collected in four ships,

with twenty-four wedded couples in each ship, upon the Red Sea, to Taprobane Island, around the Rhipaeān Mountain northward, till they reached Scythia: and

²gach E each D ⁴Ruad D ⁵-faine E ⁶-ceall E -choll D
⁷Slēibi Rībhthi E ⁸atūaid D ⁹ranghadar E -gatar D ¹⁰⁻¹²om. in
text and ins. in upper marg. E: consnīsid E -set D ¹¹flaithius D

¹²clanda Nīūil ⁊ ¹³Noenuail, dā mac Feininsa Farsaid, ¹⁴ōnd aimsir sin co haimsir ¹⁵Refelair meic Nema ⁊ Miled meic ¹⁶Bile, ‡ .i. ¹⁷Galum a ainm. ^(a)|| Mōr do ¹⁸cathailb ⁊ do ¹⁹chongalaib ⁊ do ²⁰choiethib ⁊ do ²¹lingalaib ro ²²imírset ²³etorru frissin rē sin, ²⁴co ro gon Miled mac Bile Refelair mac Nema. Dā bliadain dēce ar ²⁵nōe ²⁶cētaib ro ²⁷būi in ²⁸cosnum sin.

127. ¹Doluid Miled for longais ²iarsain: ³ceithre ⁴longa dōib, ⁊ cōie ⁵lānumna dēc, ⁊ ⁶amus, in ⁷each luing ⁸dīb. Lotar ⁹tímcHELL na ¹⁰Ilassia ¹¹sairdess co ¹²Hinis ¹³Deprofāne. ¹⁴Ansāt trī ¹⁵míss intī. Trī ¹⁶míss ¹⁷aile ¹⁸dōib for muir, co ¹⁹rāncatar ²⁰Ēigipt, ²¹hi cind ceitre bliadan cōicat ar trī cēt ar ²²míle iar cēt-gabāil ²³Ērenn do Parthalōn sin. Hi ²⁴cind imorro ceithre bliadan dēce ar nōi cētaib iar ²⁵mbādudh ²⁶Foraind ²⁷i m-Muir ²⁸Rūaidh ²⁹rāncatar ³⁰Ēigipt in tan sin.

128. ¹Forond Nechtenibus ba rī ²ind Ēigipt ind inbaid sin. ³Hiss ē sin in ⁴cōiced rī dēc ar fichit ⁵iarsin Forand ro ⁶bāiged ⁷i m-Muir Rūaidh: ⁊ ⁸ba sī ind aimsir sin doluid Alaxandir Mōr mac Pilip isin ⁹nAsia, co riacht ¹⁰Ēigipit, ⁊ dobreth ¹¹ind Ēigipt dīa rēir, ⁊ ¹²ro dīchuir in Ēigipt, ⁊ do chart a rīg Nechtenipus a Hēighipt ¹³ind

¹²clannda D ¹³Neaubail E Noenbail D ¹⁴on ED ¹⁵Relair E
¹⁶Bili E ¹⁷Galum D ¹⁸chathuīb D ¹⁹con. E -uib D ²⁰choctaib E
²¹singaib corrected to -gal- VE -uib D ²²-sed E -seit D ²³final n
written in error and corrected to u V: etorra frisín ED ²⁴cor E
²⁵nai E noi D ²⁶ced- E ²⁷baoi E boi D ²⁸cosnam D.

127. ¹-dh E ²iarsin ED ³.iiii. written in V and corrected by
dotting the minims of the u: ceitri E ⁴longai doibh E ⁵lainamhna
⁶h
(written lai^hnamna) E lanamna D ⁷amus E ⁸gach E ceel D
⁹dibh ED ¹⁰timeall E ¹¹Ilaisia E ¹²sairdes E sairdes D
¹³Ilmiss D ¹⁴aine E ¹⁵ansat E ¹⁶mis ED (bis) ¹⁷oile D
¹⁸doibh E ¹⁹rangadar E, rangatar D ²⁰Eighipt E Egipt D
²¹i cinn ceitri mbl. E ²²mhile iar geed ghab. E ²³Eir. do Partalon E

the progeny of Nel and of Nemual, the two sons of Feinius Farsaid, contended in the matter of the principedom of Scythia, from that time till the time of Refloir son of Noemius and of Mil son of Bile [whose name was Galam]. Many battles and conflicts and wars and kin-murders did they wage between them during that time, till Mil son of Bile inflicted a mortal wound upon Refloir son of Noemius. Nine hundred and twelve years did that contention last.

127. Thereafter Mil came into exile. They had four ships, with fifteen wedded couples, and a hireling, in every ship. They went south-east around Asia to Taprobane Island. They stayed three months therein. Three other months had they on the sea, till they reached Egypt: that was at the end of one thousand three hundred fifty and four years after the first Taking of Ireland by Partholon. They reached Egypt at the end of nine hundred and fourteen years after the drowning of Pharao in the Red Sea.

128. Pharao Nectanebus was king of Egypt at that time. He is the thirty-fifth king after the Pharao who was drowned in the Red Sea. Now it was in that time that Alexander the Great, son of Philip, came into Asia and arrived in Egypt, and brought Egypt into obedience to himself, laid Egypt waste, and drove out her king

Hecun do Phartalon D ²³cinn im. ceitri E ²⁴mbad- E mbadhud D
²⁵Forainn ED ²⁶a E ²⁷Ruaid E Ruad D ²⁸rangatar ED ²⁹Egipt D.

128. ¹Forann Neictinibus E Forann Nechtenibus D ²om. ind E: ind
Egypt D ³his ED ⁴coig- E ⁵iarsind Foraind D ⁶baided E
baidhed D ⁷i E ⁸bai sin aimsir doluid Alsgandair E aimser and
om. sin; Alaxandir D ⁹Aisia E Aissia D (both om. n-) ¹⁰The
spelling of this word varies at random between Egipt (the commonest
form), Eighipt, and Egipt ED ¹¹an Eighipt E in Egypt dia rer D
¹²do diochair na Heigeptagda ⁊ do chard a righ Neictinibus a Heigeipt E:
⁊ dieuir . . . arrig Nechtenibus a Heigipt D ¹³in n-Eiteoip E in

(a) Written, by a scribe, freak AinM, E.

Eitheōip; ⁊ ro ¹⁴chumtaecht prímhathair laiss ind Éigipt, i. Alaxandria a hainm. ¹⁵Anaiss trā Miled mac Bile ¹⁶ocht mbliadna ¹⁶in ¹⁷Éigipt, ⁊ ro ¹⁸foglaindseat a ¹⁹muinnter ²⁰prímdāna ²¹indti: i. ²²Sētga ⁊ ²³Sobairechi ⁊ ²⁴Suirge fri ²⁵sāirse, ²⁶Mantan ⁊ Caicher ⁊ Fulman fri ²⁷druideacht. Batar ²⁸buadhlaind ⁊ ²⁹batar ³⁰brethem-naigh in triar ³¹aile, i. Goiscen ⁊ ³²Amorgen ⁊ ³³Donn: batar ³⁴eathbñadhaig in triar ³⁵aile, i. Milid ⁊ ³⁶Occe ⁊ Ucee.

129. Ó ro airig Míldh fainne ⁊ 'aimnerte do ¹thiachtain ²do ³Forand, ⁴celebrais dō: † ⁊ nī ⁵hūamun ⁶etir, ⁷acht ro ⁸tairngirsid a ⁹druídhe rīgi ⁊ ¹⁰ferand do gabāil ¹¹dō. || Doluid trā Miled iarsin, † in ¹²lín cētna, || ⁊ ¹³Scota ¹⁴ingen ¹⁵Foraind Nechtenibus ¹⁶laiss do ¹⁷mnaí, comad aire ¹⁸adbertha Scota ¹⁹fria, ar ba Scot ainm a ²⁰fir, iar mbunadus ²¹dana in ²²ceneōil dianid ainm Scuit; ⁊ ²³is iar ²⁴cenēl a fir ²⁵sloinnter ²⁶ceeh ben ²⁷is tīr sin.

130. Dolotar iarsin for Muir ¹Rūaidh. ²Rōisit co Hinis ³Deprofāne, ⁊ ⁴ansat ⁵mīss innte. Ocus^(a) lotar ⁶timchell, sech India ⁊ ⁷Aissia ⁊ ⁸timchell na Scithia ⁹Clochaigi ¹⁰ammuich, for in Muir ¹¹Indecda ¹²fothūaidh, co ¹³rāncatar ind ¹⁴acian ¹⁵tūaiscertach † for ¹⁶in Muir Immechtrach ||, do ¹⁷inbiur Mara Caisp. ¹⁸Ocus gabsat tast trī nōmadha, for Muir Caisp,¹⁸ fri dord na

Etheoibp D ¹⁴cumdaecht príomhathair laiss an E, e. príomhathair laiss in Éigipt (*the final t badly made, and improved sec. man.*) D ¹⁵anaiss ED: .uii. D ¹⁶an E ¹⁷Egypt D ¹⁸foghlainsed E foglainnaet D ¹⁹muindter E ²⁰príomdana E ²¹indi D ²²Sedga E Settga D ²³Sobairee E ²⁴chiu D ²⁵Suirgi E ²⁶sairsi E sairsi D ²⁷Mantan E ²⁸draidecht E druidecht D ²⁹buadhlainnd E luind D ³⁰badar E ³¹firbreathaig E firbrethaich D ³²naile E eli D: Goisgen E Goscen D ³³Aimhirgin E ³⁴Dond E ³⁵buag- *changed to buad-* E: -duigh D ³⁶naile E ³⁷Oiccoe ⁊ Uga E Oicce ⁊ Uicce D.

129. ¹aimhnertmhuire E ²tichtain D ³co E go D ⁴Forann E Foronn D ⁵ceileabhrais E -bras D: *de sprs. sec. man. in very faint ink* V ⁶huaman D ⁷itir E etir D ⁸⁊ ED ⁹tairngirsad E -rset D ¹⁰draithe righe E draoidhiu rige D ¹¹ann D ¹²dho E ¹³lion E

Nectanebus from Egypt into Ethiopia; and a capital city, called Alexandria, was founded by him in Egypt. Now Mil son of Bile tarried eight years in Egypt, and his people learned the principal arts there—Setga, Sobairee, and Suirge learned craftsmanship, Mantan, Caicher, and Fulman learned druidry. One remaining three, Goscen, Amorgen, and Donn were arbitrators and judges: the other three, Mil, Ocee, and Ucee, were battle-conquerors.

129. When Mil perceived that weakness and loss of strength had come upon Pharaoh, he took leave of him: [by no means from fear, but because his druids had promised to obtain kingship and territory for him.] So Mil came thereafter, [the same tally] and Scota daughter of Pharaoh Nechtenibus along with him as wife. For this reason was she called Scota, because her husband was called Scot, that is to say according to the origin of the race called "Scots"; and every woman in that country was surnamed according to her husband's race.

130. Thereafter they came upon the Red Sea. They rowed to Taprobane Island, and tarried there a month. Then they went around, past India and Asia, and around Seythia Petraea outward, on the Indian Sea northward, till they reached the Northern Ocean [upon the Outer Sea], to the estuary of the Caspian Sea. They held their peace for three weeks, upon the Caspian Sea, by reason

¹³Scoto D ¹⁴ghiu D ¹⁵Forainn Nectinibus E, F. Nechtin (*sic*) D ¹⁶lais ED ¹⁷mnaoi E mnoi D ¹⁸at- D ¹⁹frie D ²⁰fir E ²¹dono D ²²cín- E chen- D ²³om. D ²⁴cín- E ceneol D ²⁵sloindter E sluintir D ²⁶ceeh E ²⁷isin ED.

130. ¹Ruad D ²roisid iar sin co E roiset go D ³-faine E ⁴-sad E ⁵mis ED: inti D ⁶timcheall see E ⁷Aisia E Assia D ⁸timceall E ⁹-ge E -ghe D ¹⁰amuigh E ¹¹-echdha E, n-Innecda D ¹²-aid D ¹³-gadar an E -gatar inn D ¹⁴aigian E ¹⁵tuas- D ¹⁶an muir Imech. E ¹⁷inbhir E ¹⁸⁻¹⁹om. and ins. in lower marg.

(a) In the text of D written thus: *lot- timchell sechin dia ⁊ Assia*. The words are re-written with the correct spacing in marg. in a late and bad hand. In V a small o is inserted (*prima manu*) above and between the l, n, of India.

¹⁹murdūchand, eo ²⁰rustesairg Caicher ²¹druī. ²²Issō
²³leigis fuair dōib, i. e. do ²⁴legad na ²⁵clūassaib, ²⁶onna
²⁷clōistis in dord ²⁸sin. ²⁹Rāisit ³⁰Tarsain † seōlad sē
³¹samlāithi || forsin ³²oecian sīar, eo ³³rāncatar ³⁴Muir
 Liuis, do ³⁵Chorōnis; ⁊ for ³⁶muineind Mara ³⁷Point; ³⁸⁊
³⁹rāisid sech ⁴⁰rind ⁴¹Slēibe Rīphi ⁴²atūaidh. Ocus is
⁴³andsain ⁴⁴asbert ⁴⁵Caicher friu, Inill ⁴⁶arō, nī ⁴⁷anfem
 de, ^(a) i. nī ⁴⁸fuil ⁴⁹fass ⁵⁰duind ⁵¹eo roisin in ⁵²indsī
⁵³n-ūassail, † i. ⁵⁴Hēreo. ||

131. Rāiset iarsin eo 'cend 'mbliadna forsin ³n-oecian
 siar, eo rāncatar na ⁴Gaethlaigi ⁵Meotachta ⁶atūaidh;
 sech Germain, a lām fri ⁷Tracia, eo rāncatar Dacia.
 Ocus ⁸ansat ⁹mīss i nDacia ¹⁰atūaidh; din muir ¹¹Egeta,
 sech Gothian, forsin Muir ¹²nElispoinntidhe, do inis
¹³Tenedho for Muir ¹⁴Toirrian sīar, do ¹⁵Crēid ⁊ do ¹⁶Sieil
 ⁊ do ¹⁷Belguint ^(b) ⁊ Breguint, do ¹⁸Cholomnaib Hereail,
 dou ¹⁹muineind ²⁰Gatian, hissin nEspāin trē-uillig.

132. ¹Ceithre cath ²cōicat ^(c) ³ro rāinsit ⁴rempo for
⁵Fresseno ⁊ for Longbardaib ⁊ ⁶Bachraib, ⁊ ⁷ro ⁸gabsat
 Espāin ar ⁹ēigin: ⁊ ro ¹⁰cuntaiged ¹¹cathir and la
¹²Breogund mae ¹³Bratha, † i. ¹⁴Brigancia ainm na
 cathrach, || ⁊ tor for a ¹⁵inchaib. Ocus is ōn ¹⁶tar sin

(with Caish) E; nomada, Chaisp D ¹⁹morduchann E -chonn D ²⁰ros- DE
²¹draidh E ²²ise ED ²³leiges E leges D ²⁴legh- E ²⁵cluasail E
 cluasuib D ²⁶cona ED ²⁷-dis E -clos- D ²⁸om. ED ²⁹-ed E -et D
³⁰iarsin ED ³¹-the ED ³²aic- E forsin noecian D ³³rargadar
 (sic) E rangatar D ³⁴Muir (ditlographed) Liphis E, Muir Libiss D
³⁵Coroin, E -niss D ³⁶-cend E -ciunn D ³⁷Pointie E Point D
³⁸om. ⁊ E ³⁹-ed E -et D ⁴⁰rinn D ⁴¹-bi ED: Rībtī E ⁴²atuath D
⁴³andsin E annsin D: written audsin V ⁴⁴asbert D ⁴⁵Cacher E
⁴⁶ard D ⁴⁷anfem ED ⁴⁸fil E fail D ⁴⁹fos D ⁵⁰duin ED
⁵¹eo roisimm E go roisem D ⁵²innse E ⁵³n-uasail D ⁵⁴Ereo D.

131. ¹cenn D ²om. m- ED ³oecian (om. n-) D ⁴Gaeth- E -ge D
⁵-eda E ⁶atūaid ED ⁷Tratia E ⁸ansatt D ⁹mis E mīss D

of the crooning of the Sirens, until Caicher the druid delivered them. This is the remedy that he found for them, to melt wax in their ears, so that they should not hear that crooning. Thereafter they rowed, [a sailing of six summer days] upon the Western Ocean, till they reached the Libyan Sea and Cercina; and upon the surface of the Pontic Sea; and they rowed past the promontory of the Rhipaeon Mountain northward. There it is that Caicher said to them *Inill aro, nī anfem de*, which means, We have no rest till we reach the noble island, [*i.e.* Ireland].

131. Thereafter they rowed to the end of a year upon the Western Ocean till they reached the Maeotic Marshes in the north: past Germania, alongside Thracia, till they reached Dacia. They tarried a month in Dacia northward; from the Aegean Sea, past Gothia, upon the Hellespontine Sea, to the island of Tenedos upon the Torrian Sea westward, to Crete, to Sicily, to Belgia and Burgundia (?), to the Columns of Hercules, to the surface of (the Strait of) Gibraltar, in three-cornered Spain.

132. Fifty-four battles did they win before them against the Frisians, and the Langobardi, and the Barchu, and they took Spain by force: and a city was founded there by Breogan son of Brath, [named Braganza],

¹⁰-aid ED ¹¹Egreta E ¹²nElispoinntide E nElispoinntide D ¹³-edo ED
¹⁴Torren D ¹⁵Creid E Chreid D: Creid *re-linked* to Creit V ¹⁶Sieil D
¹⁷Bealguint ⁊ Bregaint E ¹⁸Col- Ere- E ¹⁹-chiond E -ciunn D
²⁰Gadian E Gaddian D isin n- Esbain E: hisin *and om.* n- D.

132. ¹Ceithre E ²-ed E -et RD ³ro rainsit V ro raoinse E
⁴-pa ED ⁵Fresena E Freseno D ⁶Bachruib D ⁷-do E ⁸-ad D
⁹eicin E ecin R egin D ¹⁰-daig- ER -tuig- D ¹¹caithir D: ann RD
¹²Bregon R Breguin D ¹³mBratha R ¹⁴-ndchia E -ntia RD
¹⁵h- ERD -uib D ¹⁶tor ER

(a) In upper margin of V, much faded: *Hī aill aro i. hī "inis" aill "uasal"*
 ⁊ aro "imrum": i. nī anfem diar n-imram co roisem Erinn.

(b) In V the *u* of *Belguint* is closed at the top by a prolongation of the horizontal stroke of the *g*; it might be meant for *c*: and the *i* is expuncted.

(c) Here R begins.

¹⁷atchess ¹⁸Hēriu, hi ¹⁹fescor ²⁰gainridh. ²¹Atasconnairee
²²Hith mac ²³Breguin.

133. ¹Hitē amsin imtechta ²Gāidel ōn Scithīa eo
³Hespāin, conid dīa ⁴n-imtechtaib sin asberar ⁵andso
siss—

Doluid Milid as in Scithīa . . .

Third Redaction.

(β 35. 24: β¹ 35. 42: β² 12. 7: M 268 a 48: II 99 β 38:
after ¶ 138 B 10 a 1.)

134. Baath¹ mac ²Magoc meic ³Iathfēd, is ⁴ūada
⁵Gāeidil γ fir ⁶na Sceithīa. ⁷Ocus ro bo ⁸mae dō, ⁹in tāisech
¹⁰amra ¹¹oireagda ¹²diar bo ¹³ainm Feinius ¹⁴Farrsaieh.
¹⁵Is esiden in darna tāiseach¹⁵ ¹⁶sechtmogat do chuaid do
¹⁷dēnam in Tūir ¹⁸Nemrūaid, dīa ro ¹⁹scāiltea na
²⁰hērlada.²¹

135. ¹Tuirrthechta γ ²imthechta ³Tine ⁴Gāeidil, ō ⁵Magoc mac ⁶Iathfēt,
⁷ō Srū mac ⁸Easrū: amail ro ⁹imthigsed a tīr ¹⁰Égypt, γ ¹¹Scithīa, γ
¹²Easpāin, no ¹³co torachtadar ¹⁴co ¹⁵Hērind: a ¹⁶catha imorro, γ ¹⁷a
¹⁸congala, isin ¹⁹Sceithīa, γ ²⁰ingal ²¹eloindi ²²Nennail γ ²³Niūil: ²⁴amail ro
²⁵seinds ²⁶im ²⁷flaithius na Sceithīa, ²⁸i. fri ²⁹rē dā bliadain ³⁰dēc γ nōi
cēt: ³¹ūair is ead sin ro bas isin ³²chocad mōr ³³sin. Is ³⁴hē seo ³⁵imorro
³⁶mūnugad ³⁷γ rēidead³⁷ a ³⁸n-imthechta ³⁹ōntā Thor ⁴⁰Nennrūad ⁴¹ille.

¹⁷atches E atessa R ¹⁸Eire E Ériu R ¹⁹bfcgar E fescor R fescar D
²⁰rid R ²¹aduseondaire E -condaic E-con- D ²²Ith ER
²³Bregain E Bregoin R.

133. ¹Ite R Hithe D ²Goidel D ³Hesbain R ⁴nimetaib
sin E; om. sin R ⁵andso sis E indso sis R inso siss D.

134. ¹ins. imorro H ²Magoth β Magog β¹² ³Iafeth mc Nae H
Iafeth β Iaphet β¹² ⁴uad H uath β uaidh β¹ uath β¹ ⁵Gaedhil β
Gaoidhil β¹² ⁶om. na β¹²: Scitia β¹ ⁷om. γ ro bo H β¹²
⁸om. mac do and ins. i. β¹²: om. do β ⁹an taisech suprs. sec. man. H
an taoiseach β i. in taoisech β¹² (-each β²) ¹⁰amhra β amhradh β¹²
¹¹urrumunta H oireadhgha β oirega β¹² ¹²dar bho β dar (dair β²)
bhodh β¹² ¹³ainim β¹ ¹⁴Farrsaid H. Farrsaigh β Fairr- β¹²
¹⁵is eisidein an darna H in ard-thoiseach β om. β¹² ¹⁶lxx. β
sechtmogh β¹² ¹⁷denum an H dhenamh an β dhenamh β¹² ¹⁸Neamh-
ruaidh β Neaimhruidh β¹² ¹⁹scaoiltebh β¹² ²⁰berladha β berlaibh β¹²
— ²¹ins. i. Neamhruidh mac Cuis mic Caim mic Noe (with slight
differences of spelling) β¹².

135. ¹tuirrthechta H tuirrtheachta β tuirechtadh β¹² ²agas imtheachta

with a tower to protect it. From that tower was Ireland
seen on a winter's evening. Ith son of Breogan saw it.

133. Now these are the adventures of the Gaedil
from Scythia to Spain: so that the following is said
anent those their adventures,

Poem no. XIV.

134. Baath s. Magog s. Iafeth, of him are the Gaedil
and the people of Scythia. Now he had a son, the noble
eminent chieftain whose name was Feinius Farsaid. It
is he who was one of the seventy-two chieftains who
went for the building of Nemrod's Tower, whence the
languages were dispersed.

135. The narratives and adventures of the kindred of Gaedel from
Magog son of Iapheth and from Sru son of Esru: how they departed out
of the land of Egypt, and Scythia, and Spain, till they reached Ireland:
their battles moreover, and their conflicts, in Scythia, and the kin-murder
of the progeny of Nennail and of Nel; how these broke out in the matter
of the principedom of Scythia, for a space of nine hundred and twelve
years: for that is the (length) which that great war had. Here now is
an exposition and a systematizing of their journey, from the Tower of
Nemrod onward.

β imthechtadh β¹² ³Fin H ⁴Gaodheal β Gaoidhil β¹² ⁵Magoth β
Magog β¹² ⁶Iaf. H. Iafeth β Iaphet β¹² ⁷mic Nai mic Osru mic
Easru β: om. β¹²: amhuil β¹² ⁸Esrū alle H ⁹imthigsead H
imthighsead β imthighsad β¹² ¹⁰Egypt H β Egipte β¹² ¹¹Scythia
H β Scitia β¹² ¹²Espain H Easpaigh β¹² ¹³go β ¹⁴om. co H β¹²
¹⁵Eirionn β Eirinn β¹² ¹⁶chatha β geatha β¹² and om. imorro β¹²
¹⁷om. a β ¹⁸geongaladh β¹² ¹⁹Scythia hic et semper β¹² ²⁰inghala
β fighail β¹² ²¹chloinni H β chloinne β¹² ²²Nennuail H Nen uail
(sic) β Nennuail β¹² ²³Nil β¹² ²⁴om. amail β¹² ²⁵rosniseadh β
snised β¹ sined β² ²⁶un H β¹² ²⁷flaithius H flaithios β
flaithes β¹² ²⁸γ M ²⁹rae da bhliadhuin β² dha bhliaghain deg β
³⁰om. dec: following γ ix. c in rasura H deg β¹² ³¹oir is edh sin rob
asin cogadh moir β¹² ³²chogad H chogadh mhoir β cogadh mhoir β¹
³³om. sin H β¹² ³⁴e H β ³⁵om. imorro β¹² ³⁶mineaghudh β
³⁷om. H γ regheadhugh β, γ reidhiughadh β¹² ³⁸each. H: the last
syllable -adh ditto-graphed β animthechtadh β¹² ³⁹otha H, ō β¹²
⁴⁰Nemru- H Nemhruidh β Nemhroth β¹² ⁴¹alle H β aille β¹².

M β^{012}

H

136. ¹Fenius Farrsaig Fenius Farrsaid, mac Baaith
²imorro mac ³Baaith meic meic Magóc meic Iafeth meic
⁴Magoic meic ⁵Iathfeith meic Náe:
⁶Nói:

is(a) hē ⁷imorro in ⁸Feinius ⁹Farr-
 said sin in ¹⁰sesed fear dēc ¹¹fa ¹²so-
 theacoscu ¹³bái con Tur Nemruaid.¹⁴

no Feinius Farrsaid mac Eogain
 meic Glunfind meic Laimfind meic
 Ethcoir meic Tháe meic Baidb meic
 Seim meic Mair meic Aurtacht meic
 Abaith meic Ara meic Iara meic
 Shru meic Esru meic Baaith meic

Riphaith Scuit otaid ¹⁵Scuit. Ocus isse Riphath Sot (sic) tuceustair Scoitic
 ón Túr. Arob é an t-ochtmad prim-thaisech ra bai a cumdach an Tuir
 Nemruaid.

Faillceac ¹⁶mac Ebir meic Sailli meic Airifaxat meic Sheim meic
 Nae, † no Failleace mac Ragúa meic Airifaxat †, a quo India:
 ocus(b) Eber mac(c) Sailli meic Airifaxat a quo na Hebraidi: ocus
 Grecus mac Goimeir meic Iafet meic Nae, a quo an Greg Secith-
 eagda: ocus Laidin mac Puin meic Eadailis .i. Alainius mac Ibaith
 meic Magóg meic Iafet meic Náe a quo(d) Eadail. Riphath Scot .i.
 Feinius Farrsaid mac Baaith meic Magóc meic Iaféth meic Náe,
 a quo Scuit: ocus(e) Cai Cainbrethaeh mac Ebir meic Sailli meic
 Airifaxat: ocus Gáedel mac Eitheoir meic Bai meic Tai meic
 Barachain meic Magóc meic Iafeth meic Náe: ocus Neamruaid mac
 Cuiss meic Caim meic Náe. Is amlaid tra báí Nemroth, .i. coraid
 calma cumachtach, ⁊ fer diumsach doilg dur-craideach, ⁊ selesairi
 suaithnig so-anach an iathaib Aissia airtheraigi: coma focal slechta
 seinberla lá cách uili co coitchend, Calmacht ⁊ sealgairacht an Tír
 sin in agaid an Chóimded. Is les in fer sin dono ra cumdaiged ar
 tus riam an Babiloin, ar lár Muigi Senair, ⁊ Sruth nEofrait trí na
 lár. Cur cumtaigid hí iartain la Nin mac Péil, an tan dogab rígi
 an domain ⁊ na nAssarda. Is inand doni Babilon ⁊ confusio, iar
 n-eidreert, ⁊ cumase, iarsani ra cumaisced ⁊ ra buaidred is an inand
 sin denta ⁊ inandus in n-áen-berla, comdar berlada ilarda exsamlá
 o sin amach tria bithu.

Is follus de sin nach raibí Feinius hi cumdach an Tuir, mar adberad
 na senchaidi, cen choimsinead comaimseraid. Is airí seo on, air issé Feinius
 Farrsaid an seisead fer deg bá so-theguscu † ⁊ bá so-gradaigi † do síl
 Riphaith Scuit, tue Scoitic ón Tur.

136. ¹Feinnius β Feinius β^1 Foinios Farsaig β^2 Fairrsaigh β ²om. β^{12}
³Baath β^3 ⁴Magoith β Magog β^{12} ⁵Iafeth β Iapheth β^{11} (-et β^7)
⁶Nai β : om. meic Noi β^{12} ⁷om. β^{12} ⁸Feineas β^{12} ins. -sa β^{11}
⁹om. Farrsaid sin β^{12} ¹⁰seséimh β^{12} ¹¹neoch ba β noch ba β^{12}
¹²soitheethasca β soitheethasa β^{12} ¹³⁻¹⁴om. β^{12} ¹⁴Scuit sprs. c H

136. Feinius Farrsaid more- Feinius Farrsaid s. Baath s.
 over, s. Baath s. Magog s. Magog s. Iafeth s. Noe:
 Iafeth s. Noe:

that Feinius Farrsaid was one of
 the sixteen men best in learning who
 were at the Tower of Nemrod.

or Feinius Farsaid s. Eogan s.
 Glunfind s. Laimfind s. Ethcoir s.
 Thoe s. Rodb s. Sem s. Mar s.
 Aurtacht s. Aboth s. Ara s. Iarra
 s. Sru s. Esru s. Baath s. Rifaith
 Scot from whom are the Scots.

Now it is Rifaith Scot who brought the Scotie language from the Tower.
 For he was one of the eight chief leaders who were at the building of
 the Tower of Nemrod.

[These were] Faleg s. Eber s. Saile s. Arfaxad s. Sem s. Noe,
 [or Faleg s. Ragna s. Arfaxad], a quo India: and Eber s. Saile s.
 Arfaxad, a quo the Hebrews: and Grecus s. Gomer s. Iafeth s.
 Noe, a quo Scythian Greece: and Latinus s. Faunus s. Italus, that is
 Alaius, s. Iabath s. Magog s. Iafeth s. Noe, a quo Italy. Riphath
 Scot, that is Feinius Farrsaid, s. Baath s. Magog s. Iafeth s. Noe,
 a quo the Scots: and Cai Cainbrethach s. Eber s. Saile s. Arfaxad:
 and Gadel s. Ethcoir s. Bai s. Tai s. Barachan s. Magog s. Iafeth
 s. Noe: and Nemrod s. Cus s. Iam s. Noe. Thus was Nemrod, a
 valorous powerful champion, a haughty oppressive hard-hearted man,
 a well-known hunter of high renown in the eastern lands of Asia:
 so that everyone had a proverb extracted from the Old Language,
 which was universally known—The valour and hunting-prowess of
 that man is against the Lord. By that man was Babylon founded
 at the very first, in the middle of the plain of Senar, with the river
 Euphrates flowing through its middle. It was afterwards fortified
 by Ninus son of Belus, when he took the kingship of the world
 and of the Assyrians. "Babylon" is the same as *confusio*, by
 interpretation, and "mixing"; for in that place were mixed and
 troubled the construction and identity of the single language, so
 that there were many and various languages from that onwards for
 ever.

From that it is clear that Feinius was not at the building of the
 Tower, as historians say who do not harmonize the synchronisms. But
 this is how it was, that it is Feinius Farsaid who was one of the sixteen
 men most learned [and of highest degree] of the seed of Riphath Scot,
 who brought the Scotie language from the Tower.

¹⁵ sprs.: .i. diuicio .i. fogail iarsani ro fodlad in talam a mberlaib examlá
 ina aimsir diarrobaí ac on Tor Nemruaid.

(a) Punctuated in M so as to begin a new paragraph at this word.

(b) ⁊ yc H.

(c) mac partly erased H.

(d) This word apparently in a different ink.

(e) ⁊ yc H.

137. Dā mac ¹badar ²oc ³Feinius, i. ⁴Nenual ⁵† no ⁶Neanneal || ⁷in dala mac, ⁸forfacaib † ⁹ēisidi || ¹⁰11flaithius ¹²na Sceithia ¹³dia ēsi † fēn || : ¹⁴Nēl ¹⁵in mac ¹⁶aile ¹⁷† do Phenius, || ¹⁸oc in Tur ¹⁹ruad hē. Ocus ²⁰fa sai-²¹side is na hībērlaib.

M β¹²

²²conad † ar a ²³chend sin || ²⁴tāneus ō Forann ²⁵† Phostoiges || † ō flaith Éigepht || do foglaim na mbērlad uad.²⁴

H

Is ē a[n] Nēl sin mac Feniusa *Farsaid* asrubartamar, ro forchongart Forand Cingeris rí Eigipti ar imad a fesa, ⁊ a eoluis, ⁊ a foglama; ⁊ dobeir Forand ferand dó, ⁊ do breth a ingen, i. Scota a hainm, † Ocus adberaid araile comad airi adbertha Scota fria,^(a) ar ba Scott ainm a fir, ⁊ is^(a) Scuit ainm na tuaitli dia raibi an fer, unde dicitur Scotus ⁊ Scota † iad a ndis ||' ||. Cethraecha bliadan o scailead ²⁶in Tuir co tanig Feinius *Farsaid* atuaid, asin Sceithia, cona seoil, do iaraid na mberla; ar do runmenadar fosgebtais and, ar bith is as ra scailit. Da bliadain iar tiachtain do Fheinius atuaid corice Nin † mac Peil ||.

137. ¹ bhadar β om. β¹² mhac β² ² ag H β¹¹ aig β² ³ Feinnius β Feines β¹² ⁴ Noinell β¹² ⁵⁻⁶ om. β¹² ⁶ Nenneal with a sb. in faint ink M; Naennel (the first e obscured by a blob of colour penetrating through from the other side of the page) H ⁷ an dara mac H β om. β¹² ⁸ foracaib H ro fbaigaib β ro fagaibh (f β¹) β¹² ⁹ sidhe β¹² ¹⁰ a H β¹² ¹¹ flaithus H bhflaithius β bhlaithes (bhí β¹) β¹² ¹² om. na H ¹³ dia ēsi fein H dia eissi fein β dia eis β¹² ¹⁴ Nēl H Nēil β ¹⁵ an H β¹² ¹⁶ aile H oile β¹¹ eile β² ¹⁷ om. Fenius H β¹²; dó H β¹¹, dhó β² ¹⁸ ocan H: ó cinter a bheith na saoi (saoith β²) is na hībherlaibh (om.

137. Feinius had two sons, Nenual [or Neammel], one of the two, whom he left in the principedom of Scythia after him[self] : Nel, the other son [of Feinius], at the Tower was he born. Now he was a master in the multiplicity of languages.

So that [to summon him] one came from Pharaoh [Postoiges from the prince of Egypt], in order to learn the languages from him.

This is that Nel, son of Feinius Farsaid whom we have mentioned, whom Pharaoh Cineris king of Egypt invited for the greatness of his skill, his knowledge, and his learning; and Pharaoh granted him an estate, and his daughter, whose name was Scota was bestowed. [Some say that the reason why she was called Scota was, that Scot was her husband's name, and "Scots" the name of the people from whom he came; unde dicitur ['of the two'], Scotus, and Scota.] Forty years from the dispersal of the Tower till Feinius Farsaid came from the north, out of Scythia, with his school, to seek for the languages; for they thought they would find them there, inasmuch as it was thence they were dispersed. Two years after the coming of Feinius from the North until Ninus [son of Belus].

hil- β²) β¹² ¹⁹ rugad cisidhi H ²⁰ ha H ²¹ sein H ²² gonadh β² ²³ chenn son β¹² ²⁴⁻²⁵ thangus o Forand o righflaith na Heigipte . . . mberla uaidh β do mhian riogh flaith (f β¹) na Heigipte na hībherladh d'foghluim (-aim β¹) uaidh β¹² ²⁶ om. β ²⁶ in Tuir spr. c H

(a) The f in fria and the i in is ye H.

²⁷Tānie imorro Fēnius ²⁸isin nAisia dochum na Sceithia
²⁹doridisi, oir is ³⁰aisdi ³¹doluid do dēnam ³²in Tuir †
Nemrūaid || †³² (i. Neamrūd mac Cuis meic Caim meic
Nāe) ³³|| ³⁴conerbhailt ³⁵i ³⁶flaithis na Sceithia ³⁷i cind dā
³⁸fichit bliadan † iar tiachtain dō ōn Tur, || oens dorad
³⁹tāisicheacht dia mac, ⁴⁰do Nenuail.

138. I cind dā fichit bliadan ⁊ dā dēce trā ²ar
ndēnam in Tuir, ro ³gob¹ ⁴Nin mac ⁵Pel rīgi ⁶in ⁷domain:
⁸Ūair nīr triall ⁹neach ¹⁰aile smachtugad na ¹¹tūath, na
na ¹²n-il-chenēl ¹³da tabairt |^(a) ¹⁴fō ¹⁵aen smacht, ¹⁶i. fō
chīs ⁊ fō ¹⁷chānaigh, acht ¹⁸ēisium na ¹⁹āenur. ²⁰Tāisig
imorro ²¹badar and ²²roime, i. ²³in ²⁴fear ²⁵ba ²⁶hūaisle ⁊
²⁷ba mō rāth isin tūath, is ē ²⁸fa ²⁹cenn ³⁰comairle do
³¹chāch; no choisgeadh gach ³²n-ēcōir ³³⁊ ³⁴no gresadh
³⁵gach ³⁶cōir, ³⁷no triallagh indsaighi ceinēl; ³⁸⁊ smach-
tugad ar ³⁹chenēlaib ⁴⁰ele.

139. Ceatru bliadna dég ⁊ tri fichit ⁊ ocht eel o thús flaithiusa Nin eo
deird flaithiusa Tútaneis, ri an domain. Is ria lind-sidi ro tóglaí Tráe
dín togail deidonaig. Secht mbliadna iarsan togail eo tug Aeniass mac
Anicis Lauina ingen Laidin meic Puin: conad tri bliadna cethrachad ar
nóí cetaib o scailcad an Tuir eo tug Aenius ingen Laidin ⁊ Laidin doroina
a cuir fris. Is follus assin conach cert-thiagait lucht ind Auraicepta
comad hé Laidin an t-ochtmad prim-thuisceach an Tuir † Nemruaid ||, ⁊
a fod anúass eturru.

²⁷tanig H tainie β²: om. imorro H β¹²: Feines β² ²⁸assan β asun β¹²:
nAissia docum H Aissia β Asia β¹² ²⁹dorighisi β -ghese β¹ dorighse
oir is oir innte doluid β² ³⁰aisti H β innte β¹² ³¹dochuaid H doluigh β²
³²an H β² ³³⁻³⁴om. H β¹² ³⁴condearbhailt β gonderbhailt β¹².
The o in this word as written in H looks at first sight like a ³⁵n H β¹²
³⁶flaith H flaithios β flaithes β¹ hflaithes β²: om. na β¹² ³⁷ó chionn
da fithchid bliadhuin β³ ins. iartain: a cind H ³⁸fithchid bliaghain β
³⁹taisigeacht H: taisiecht da mac i. do Neanuail β taisiecht da mhac
Neanuail β¹² ⁴⁰ins. i. β: Neanuail H.

138. ¹⁻¹Ja bliadain .lxx. o scailcadh an tuir dogab H Ageionn dā fithet
bliadhuin ⁊ da deich tra iar ndenamh an Tuir rogluab β² ²iar nd.
an β¹² ³ghabh β¹² ⁴Nion β¹² ⁵Peil H β¹² ⁶an H β¹²
⁷domain H β domuin β² ⁸ar H oir β¹² ⁹nech H ¹⁰eile β¹²

But Peinius came again into [*sic*, read “out of”] Asia
to Seythia, for thence he had come for the building of
the Tower [of Nemrod; Nemrod s. Cus s. Ham s. Noc].
So that he died in the principedom of Seythia, at the end
of forty years [after he had come from the Tower], and
passed on the chieftainship to his son, Nenuail.

138. Now at the end of two score and twelve years
after the building of the Tower, Ninus son of Belus took
the kingship of the world: for no other attempted to
exercise authority over the peoples, or to bring the
multitude of nations under one authority, that is under
tax and tribute, but he alone. Aforetime there had been
chieftains; he who was noblest and most in favour in
the community, he it was who was chief counsellor for
every man, who should avert all injustice and further
all justice which should be attempted against a nation;
and authority over other nations.^(b)

139. Eight hundred three score and fourteen years from the beginning
of the principedom of Ninus to the end of the principedom of Tautanes, King
of the World. Toward his time Troy was captured for the last time.
There were seven years after that capture till Aeneas son of Anchises
took Lavinia daughter of Latinus son of Faunus: so that there are nine
hundred forty and three years from the dispersal of the Tower till Aeneas
took the daughter of Latinus, and Latinus made his treaties with him.
It is clear therefrom, that the authors of the *Auraicepta* do not reach a
correct conclusion when they say that Latinus was one of the eight chief
leaders of the Tower [of Nemrod], considering the length of time that
passed down between them.

¹¹tteath β¹² ¹²neilecineil β² ¹³do thabairt H ¹⁴from this
point text printed as in B: fa M fó H ¹⁵oen M én H ¹⁶⁊ M
¹⁷chain MH ¹⁸sesem M seism H ¹⁹oenur M ²⁰taisicheacht M
²¹ins. ro M ²²remi sin M ²³an H ²⁴fer MH ²⁵fa MH (*bis*, second
time fá H) ²⁶tuaisliu M huaisle H ²⁷bá H ²⁸cend MH ²⁹-li MH
³⁰chach no (na H) chosnad cach MH ³¹neogair (*the o expunoted*) B
negoir M cóir H ³²om. ⁊ H ³³no gresad M na greised H
³⁴each MH ³⁵negóir H ³⁶⁻³⁸ins. ⁊ ad innt. B: do triall indsaigid
chenecoil M, da triallad indsaigid lé chinelaib féin H ³⁹ceinelaib H
chenelaib M cenelaib H ⁴⁰aile MH.

139. This ¶ in H only.

(a) Here B resumes.

(b) This passage, here corrupt, should be corrected as in R² ¶ 105.

140. ¹Inthusa ²in mac ³eile do ⁴Feinius, *i.* Nēl⁵: do ⁶aitreab
⁷teas ⁸in Éigipt, ⁹γ ¹⁰tug Scota ingen ¹¹Foraind ¹²Cingeirís do
mnaí. Ocus ¹³is andsin¹² rugastair ¹³Scota sin Gáedel Glas,
ō ¹⁴táid ¹⁵Gáedhil, do Nēl mac ¹⁶Fheiniassa ¹⁷Farrsaig. Conadh
ōn Scota sin ¹⁸adealarar Seuit re ¹⁹Gáedealaibh † ²⁰Fēine do
ragha fria ō Feinius, ²¹γ ²²Gāedil ²³ō ²⁴Gāedhel Glas ||, ²⁵amail
asbeart in t-cōlach²⁴—

Fēne ō Fheinius asbertar

141. No comad Scota ainm na tuaithi as a tancadar chum in Thir
Nemruaid ille, ota in Sceithia Clochaig anair. Is he fath fa ndeachaid
Fenius Farrsaig re filigeht, con torseach 'each n-oen da roibi do thaisechaib
aici, in tuath dia roibi, *i.* Scotisianos do chuaid a senchus a ndibad ne na
farrsaigib Greeda. Corob do fagbail senchuis na Scot dia roibi dochuaid
do foglaim na filigehta: conad do ainmnigthear Fenius Farrsaid, *i.* "fis
na n-arsanda aici" a Ihebra, ¹γ a Greg, ²γ a Laidin, ³γ is na huli berla
oilchena; oir fas aiseom intib dogres.

BM

H

142. Is ¹e Gáedel do ²chum
in ³Gáedelg as na ⁴dā bērla
⁵sechtmogat: ⁶is iad so ⁷a
n-anmanda—

Ar scailead do chách ón Tur,
γ ar na mesc-buaidred do Dia
tre na n-aindligead, γ ar
scailead na mberlad sechnó[n]
an domain, da an Fenius ag
an Tor, γ da aitreab and: γ do
fáid fer uad each aird don
domun, do teglomad na mber-
lad dia tabairt co haen inad.
Ocus ar timsachad na scoili γ
ar teglomad na mberla, do
teibustair Fenius Farrsaid berla
na nGaeidel as na dib berlaib

140. ¹Imtusa B imthussa H ²an H ³aile M aili H ⁴Fheinius H
Fhenius M ⁵ins. mac Feiniusa M ⁶aitreb MH ⁷om. M theass H
⁸an MH: Egipt M ⁹tac M ¹⁰Fhoruind H ¹¹om. MH
¹²⁻¹³om. and ins. do M: rucustair M ¹⁴ins. in M an H (bis): Gaeidel MH
¹⁵tait M ¹⁶Gaeidil MH ¹⁷Feiniusa MH ¹⁸-aid, conad M

140. As for Nel, the other son of Feinius, he lived southward
in Egypt, and took Scota daughter of Pharaoh Cineris to wife:
and there that Scota bore Gaedel Glas, from whom are the
Gaedil, to Nel son of Feinius Farrsaid. So from that Scota the
Gaedil are called Scots, [and the name *Feni* is given to them
from Feinius, and *Gaedil* from Gaidel Glas], as the learned said

Poem no. X.

141. Or perhaps "Scota" is the name of the community from which
they came over to the Tower of Nemrod, from Scythia Petraea, from the
east. This is the reason why Feinius Farrsaid acquired bardism, for that
every one who was of the chieftains with him was distressed that the
community of which they were, the Scottiziani—its history had gone to
loss in the hands of the elders of the Greeks. So that it was to find the
history of the Scots, from which he was sprung, that he came to learn
bardism: and thence is he named Fenius Farrsaid, *i.e.*, "one who has
knowledge of ancient things," in Hebrew, in Greek, in Latin, and in all
the languages in general; for he continually made progress in them.

142. It is Gaedel who
formed the Gaelic [lan-
guage] out of the seventy-
two languages. These are
their names—

After the dispersal of every-
one from the Tower, and after
they were mixed and confused
by God by reason of their
lawlessness, and after the
dispersal of the languages
throughout the world, Fenius
remained at the Tower, and he
dwelt there: and he sent forth
a man into every quarter of
the world, to collect the
languages and to bring them
to one place. And after he

¹⁹ins. ingen Foraind Istoges M: adberar MH ²⁰Gaeidealaib M
Gaedealaib H ²¹Fene MH: dorad rin MH: Fenius M ²²Gaeidil MH
²³ins. darad rin H ²⁴Gaeidel M Gaedel H ²⁵⁻²⁶ut dicitur H.
141. This ¶ in M only. ¹each sprs. gc M.
142. ¹he M ²cum B ³nGaeidelg M ⁴spr. sec. man. M
⁵sechtmogad M ⁶ins. γ M ⁷anmanda na mberla sin M ⁸conad

sechtmogat, a cind dece
mblíadan iar scailead an Tuir.
Ocus dorad dia mac, do Niul,
⁊ dorad Niul da mac, do Gaedel
Glas ⁊ dá síl eo brath: ⁊ is
uad ainmnigter. Ite annso na
berlada —

Beithin, Sceithin, Seill, Scairthin, etc.

‘Is dia chuimneagudh sin adubairt in fili na bríathra so,*

Bērla in domain, dēchaid lib . . .

ⁱCeitri randa ⁱdon ⁱforsan ⁱnGaedheilg acon lucht eolais, ⁊ ceitri
hanmunda forraibh:ⁱ ⁱSeanchus Mōr ⁊ Breutha ⁱNeimidh, ⁱAi ⁱCarmna
⁊ ⁱAi ⁱCanon ⁱin ⁱceathramad. Ocus canōm ainm na ⁱranda sin, ar mēd
a fis ⁊ a ⁱroscadh. Tri ⁱcōicad ⁱa ogum ⁊ na ⁱreimenna, i. ⁱreim ⁱneana
⁊ na ⁱduili ⁱfeadha, ⁊ ⁱinas dīr ⁱdōibh. ⁱIn dara rand dono, i.
ⁱGramadach a hainm, ar ⁱimad a ⁱso-fis, ⁱair is i is [s]tuir don labra
cirt: na ⁱfeasa dono ⁊ na ⁱfoirfessa ⁊ na togla, ⁊ ⁱin ⁱtrichad secl, ⁊
ⁱaesca fo-secl ⁊ ⁱas dīr ⁱdōibh ⁱas indaib. ⁱIn treas ⁱrand ⁱ⁊ ⁱStair a
ⁱhainm-sidhe, ⁱair is ⁱindti ⁱlusaigtear secla ⁊ ⁱceingni. ⁱBreutha Cai
imorro cona ⁱn-imtheagur ⁱin ⁱceathramad, ⁱ⁊ ⁱRimh a hainm, ⁱamail
asbert in fili

Ceithri randa rāiter dē . . .

do chuimneadug na n-anmand sin do chan in t-eolach in duan-sa, ⁊ do
reidiugud a n-airmi M: ⁊ is da rediugud sin ⁊ da cuimniugad adubrand
andso H ⁱceithri MH ⁱdono MH ⁱacon (ag an H) lucht
eolais forsin (-an H) nGaedelg (nGaed- H) seo rotheb Gaedel (*om. these
words* H) ⁊ ceithri (-tri H) hanmunda (-unda H) forraib MH ⁱGhaedh-
eilg B ⁱseanchos M ⁱNemead M Nemid H ⁱaei M
ⁱCharmna M Chermna H ⁱAei M ⁱChana M Chana II: *a small
dot over the C in B, hardly large enough for a lenition mark* ⁱan H.
ⁱceathrumad M ceathramad H ⁱrenna and *om.* sin M ⁱroscad MH
ⁱchaecad M ⁱom. a M: ogum MH ⁱremenda M reimenda H
ⁱrem M ⁱnena MH ⁱduile M ⁱfeada M feda H ⁱanosdir B
anusdir H ⁱdoib MH ⁱin rann aile M an rand tanaisi H
ⁱmidach M -mutach (a) H ⁱimud H ⁱFiss H ⁱuair is i

had assembled the school and
collected the languages, Feinius
Farsaid cut the language of
the Gaedil out of the seventy-
two languages, at the end of
ten years after the dispersal
of the Tower. And he imparted
it to his son Nel: and Nel
imparted it to his son (Gaedil
Glas and to his seed for
ever: and from him (Gaedel)
is it named. These are the
languages.

(See below, p. 150.)

To memorize those the poet said these words—

Poem no. XI.

Now the learned count four divisions in the Gaelic language, with
four names: The Great Story, the Judgements of Nemed, The Science of
Cermua, and The Science of Cano, the fourth. “Canons” is the name of
that division, for the greatness of its knowledge and its precedents.
Thrice fifty are its secret scripts and the courses, the course of *nin*, the
leaves of a forest, and whatever is related to them. The second division,
further, Grammar is its name, for the greatness of its excellent knowledge.
for this it is which is the rudder for correct speech: the Sciences moreover,
and the additional sciences, and the captures, and the thirty stories, and
the sixty subordinate stories, and whatever is related to them, are therein.
The third division, History is its name, for therein are spoken stories and
matters of dispute. The Judgements of Cai, with which the fourth is
included, Prosody is its name, as the poet says—

Poem no. XV.

is tur eolais in labartha cirt M: ar issi sdinir eolais an labartha H
ⁱfessa H ⁱfoireasa M foirfesa H ⁱan H ⁱtrichaid MH
ⁱins. in MH ⁱins. in M an H ⁱdoib MH ⁱom. as indaib MH
ⁱin tres M isin tres H ⁱrann M ⁱimorro for ⁊ M ⁱsdair MH
ⁱ-side M -sidi H ⁱuair M ⁱinti MH ⁱluaiter MH ⁱcoingnida M
coingneda H ⁱbretha M breath H ⁱhim- MH -theacur M himthegar H
ⁱan H ⁱceathrumad M cethramad H ⁱins. rann M rand H
ⁱrim MH ⁱamail asbert in fellsom is na rundaib-sea M ut dicitur H

(a) Might be *mudach*, but looks more like *mut*. In this ms., owing to the way
in which the letters are run together, a *u* is often partly covered by the following
letter so as to be almost indistinguishable from *c*. There is no doubt of the *c* in
the corresponding word in the accompanying verse 1; see poem XV, line 609.

BM

⁶⁰Ceithri hanmanna ⁶¹dono for in
⁶²nGaidilg † fo ⁶³comhannus a
randa, ⁶⁴no comad ainm cuma prim-
bērla do na ⁶⁵tri bērladhaibh ||

H

Ceithri randa don 7 ceithri hanmanna
forsan nGaidilg agan lucht colais
fo chomnimir ⁶⁶na rand do raid-
sinn (a) . . .

⁶⁷i. Eabra 7 Grēg 7 Laiden, 7 a hainm dileas o ⁶⁸Gaedheal, i. ⁶⁹Gaedh-
ealg. ⁷⁰Ticcolath a hainm ⁷¹Eabra, Moloth a hainm Grēghu. ⁷²Leghulus
a hainm ⁷³Laidne; ⁷⁴Tinoilteach a hainm la ⁷⁵Gaedhel ⁷⁶rodostoba, annil
asbert in file

In bērla tebidi tric . . .

Ocus ger ⁷⁷bod il na tengtha sin on Tur ⁷⁸Nemriadh, ni ⁷⁹roibh acht ⁸⁰āen
bērla ⁸¹ag foghnum do chāch no cor ⁸²cumdaigheagh. Gortigern ainm in
bērla sin, 7 is ⁸³ris adearer in bērla ⁸⁴Ebraidhe ⁸⁵āniū, annil asbert.⁸⁶

Gortigern ainm in bērla . . .

⁸⁷ Variants from here onward from M, unless otherwise stated: ceithri
⁸⁸ita for sin ⁸⁹nGaidilg ⁹⁰chomnimmair ⁹¹no sprs, sec. man.
⁹²om. tri berladaibh ⁹³i. Ebra 7 Greig 7 Laiten ⁹⁴the n of na ye il
⁹⁵Gaidel ⁹⁶Gaidelg ⁹⁷Ticcolath ⁹⁸Ebra ⁹⁹Legulus ¹⁰⁰Laitne

The following version of the foregoing paragraph is given
in Min after ¶ 107, as noted above. Variants from μR : the
section is missing in μV .

Ceithri ranna dana ¹⁰¹aeon lucht colais forsin ¹⁰²nGaidilg-si ro ¹⁰³teib Gaidel,
7 ceithri ¹⁰⁴hanmanna foraib; ¹⁰⁵Sencus Mōr 7 Bretha ¹⁰⁶Nemid, Ai ¹⁰⁷Chernna 7
¹⁰⁸Nachan in ¹⁰⁹cet rann, 7 ¹¹⁰ānōin ¹¹¹a hainm na rinde sin, ar imat a fis 7 a
roscadh.¹¹² Tri ¹¹³choecat ogam 7 na remenna 7 ¹¹⁴na ¹¹⁵duile feda 7 ¹¹⁶anas dir
doib. In rann ¹¹⁷tanaste, 7 ¹¹⁸Gramatach a ¹¹⁹hainm, ar imat a ¹²⁰so-fis, ar ¹²¹as
i as [s]tiuir colais¹²² in labartha ¹²³ceirt. Na ¹²⁴hessa dana 7 na ¹²⁵forfessa¹²⁶ 7
na togla, 7 ¹²⁷in trichat scel 7 in ¹²⁸sesca roger 7 ¹²⁹anas dir¹³⁰ doib is i in ¹³¹tress
rann, 7 stair a ¹³²hainm: ar is ¹³³inti luaidter seala 7 ¹³⁴coimgneda. Bretha
¹³⁵Cai imorro cona ¹³⁶n-intecor in ¹³⁷cetrannadh rand, 7 rim a hainm: *de*
quibus dicitur hoc carmen

Ceithri ranna rāiter dē . . .

¹³⁸Ceithri hanmanna dono for ¹³⁹in nGaidilg fo com-nimir ¹⁴⁰a rainne, no

Moreover the Gaelic language has
four names [corresponding to its
division; or that it should have a
name, in the way that the three
languages are called "chief lan-
guage"]—

Men of learning consider that
Gaelic has four divisions and
four names, being a like number
with the divisions which we have
enumerated . . .

to wit, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, as well as its own name Gaelic, from
Gael. Ticcoloth is its Hebrew name, Moloth its Greek name, Legulus its
Latin name; Tinoilteach was the name which Gael had for it, he who
cut it out, as the poet said—

Poem no. XVI.

Now though many were those tongues from the Tower of Nemrod, there
was not more than one language serving everyone until it was built.
Gorthigern was the name of that language, and it is called the Hebrew
language today, as one said—

Poem no. XVII.

¹⁴¹Tinoilteach ¹⁴²Gaidel ¹⁴³i. Gaidelg rotathoba ¹⁴⁴botile
¹⁴⁵ad ¹⁴⁶roibh ¹⁴⁷oen ¹⁴⁸ic foghnum ¹⁴⁹cumaisced na berla i.
Gorthigern ¹⁵⁰fris adeurar ¹⁵¹Ebraide ¹⁵²āniū ¹⁵³ins. in teolach.

(a) Here H breaks off.

comad ainm ¹⁵⁴each primberla dona ¹⁵⁵tri primberlaib i. Ebra 7 ¹⁵⁶Greg 7
Laidin, 7 a hainm dileas o Gaidil. ¹⁵⁷Ticcoloth a ainm Ebra, Maloth ¹⁵⁸a
hainm Greeda, ¹⁵⁹Legulus a hainm Laitin, ¹⁶⁰Tinoilteach a hainm la Gaidel
¹⁶¹rodostoba: *de quibus hoc carmen*¹⁶²

In berla tebidi tric . . .

¹⁶³ne lucht a heolusa ¹⁶⁴nGoidile-so ¹⁶⁵teip Goidil ¹⁶⁶anmann
¹⁶⁷Sencus ¹⁶⁸Nemed ¹⁶⁹Cernna ¹⁷⁰naeane ¹⁷¹cetrumad ¹⁷²an
rann sin 7 a (*ye abs. R*) ainm ar imat a fir (*sic*) 7 a roscad ¹⁷³coecait
¹⁷⁴ins. rein nena 7 ¹⁷⁵duili ¹⁷⁶inas ¹⁷⁷tanaisi ¹⁷⁸ainm ¹⁷⁹sois
¹⁸⁰is i sdiuir eolusa ¹⁸¹eirt ¹⁸²fesa didiu 7 na foirbesa ¹⁸³na tricha
¹⁸⁴xl-roger 7 inasdir ¹⁸⁵tres ¹⁸⁶ainm ¹⁸⁷inte luaiter ¹⁸⁸Cae
¹⁸⁹n-integar ¹⁹⁰cethramad rann ¹⁹¹om. hoc carmen ¹⁹²ceithre
anmann dana ¹⁹³an Goidile ¹⁹⁴arrainne ¹⁹⁵cech ¹⁹⁶trib
¹⁹⁷Grec ¹⁹⁸Ticcolath ¹⁹⁹om. a and the prefixed h ²⁰⁰Legulus a Laitin
²⁰¹Tinoilteach a Gaidile and om. a hainm ²⁰²rostoba ²⁰³ins. dicitur.

143. ¹ro aitreabh trá ²in Nél sain mac Feiniusa in Éigipt, is ³ē ferand roghab, ar ⁴imlibh Mara Rūaid, ⁵im ⁶Capacirunt: ⁷ ⁸bāi annsin ⁹no gor ēlodar Meie ¹⁰Israhel ¹¹ō ¹²Phoraind ¹³γ ¹⁴ō ¹⁵slūagh Éigiphte. Ocus is ¹⁶ed dolodar Meie Israhel ¹⁷for a n-ēlog sin ¹⁸cosin ¹⁹ferand a ²⁰mba Nél ²¹γ a mac, i. ²²Gāedhel Glas. Ro ²³ghabhsat trá ²⁴Meie Israhel ²⁵† ²⁶sosudh ²⁷γ || ²⁸longphurt ²⁹a Capaciroth for brū Mara Rūaidh. Is andsin do ruacht chucu Nél ³⁰Fēinasa da ³¹n-agallaim, ³²† ³³γ ³⁴da fīs cia ³⁵ann ||, ³⁶γ is andsin dorala ³⁷Aarōn do ³⁸† do ³⁹lāthtaebh in ⁴⁰slūagh ||, ⁴¹γ ro indis ⁴²Arōn scēla Mac ⁴³nIsrahel ⁴⁴dō, ⁴⁵i. fearta ⁴⁶γ ⁴⁷mir-bailedh Maise, ⁴⁸γ amail ⁴⁹tugud na dēce ⁵⁰plagha (foillsi fiadhnacha) for lueht na ⁵¹Heighipti ⁵²trē na ndāeradhson. Ocus ro ⁵³snāidmscad comond ⁵⁴γ earadradh, ⁵⁵γ ro ⁵⁶fiarfaigh Nél ⁵⁷do Arōn in robhadar bindha ⁵⁸ua lōingtighe aece, Ocus ⁵⁹ro rāidh fōs⁶⁰ a ⁶¹fuil do ⁶²chruithneacht ⁶³γ do maithius annso, ar sē, ⁶⁴doberar for bhar eumus uili sin.⁶⁵ ⁶⁶† ⁶⁷Ocus tāinig in adhaig dōibh fai sin ||, ⁶⁸γ dochuaidh ⁶⁹docum a tighe fēin:⁷⁰ ⁷¹γ dochuaidh Arōn isin ⁷²longphort, ⁷³gu hairm a mbi⁷⁴ Maissi, ⁷⁵γ ro indis do in ⁷⁶faillte fuair ⁷⁷og Nél, ⁷⁸γ in maith ro ⁷⁹gheall re Macaib Israhel. Ba ⁸⁰buidheach Maissi ⁸¹† ⁸²γ Arōn || do Nél mana scēlaibh sin.

144. ¹Imtusa Niñil imorro, ²ō rānig docum a muindteri, ³do indis dōibh longphort do bhoith ag Macaibh Israhel ⁴a Capaciroth ⁵γ ⁶ag Socath. ⁷Ro indis scēla Maissi ⁸γ Arōn ⁹gu lēir ¹⁰a fiadhmaissi in ¹¹tslōigh. ¹²Isan aidehe sin¹³ dono, ro beanastair ¹⁴nathair neimhneach nime¹⁵ risin mac ¹⁶mbeg ro bāi ag ¹⁷Niñil, i. Gāedhel¹⁸ Glas, ¹⁹γ ro bo ²⁰comfaghus bās do: corob ūaithi fuair²¹sium in forthormach ²²anna sin. Ocus ro ²³rāig-sead a muindtear ²⁴fria Nél in mac sin do breith ar amus

143. ¹ra aitreab thra ²om. in and sain ³he fearand roghob
⁴imlib ⁵Chapaciron ⁶bui ⁷co ro ⁸Israhel *hic et ubique*
⁹Phorann ¹⁰sluagh Éigipt ¹¹ead ¹²forsan elod ¹³coson B eus
(sin *sps. sec. man.*) M ¹⁴ferand ¹⁵nibai ¹⁶Gaedel *hic et ubique*
¹⁷gobsad ¹⁸mec ¹⁹sosad ²⁰longphurt B longport M ²¹im Chapaciron
²²Feiniusa ²³the g dotted *sec. man.* ²⁴dia ²⁵ro bai and and om. ²⁶γ
²⁷Arōn ²⁸leataib ²⁹luaig ³⁰Arōn ³¹nIsrl- ³²om. do
³³γ for j. ³⁴leada Maissi meic Amra ³⁵tucad ³⁶plada foillseacha
fiadhnacha ³⁷Heigepti ³⁸ins. ³⁹snadmadar comand ⁴⁰-fai
⁴¹dō Arōn irobadar ⁴²naid lointigi ⁴³ro raid Nel fris ⁴⁴fuil ar se

143. Now when that Nel son of Feinius dwelt in Egypt, this is the estate which he received, upon the shores of the Red Sea, and around Phi-Hahiroth: and he was there till the Sons of Israel escaped from Pharaoh and from the host of Egypt. Now it fell out that the Sons of Israel, in that flight, came to the estate where Nel was, and his son, Gaedel Glas. The Sons of Israel [alighted and] took camp at Phi-Hahiroth, on the border of the Red Sea. Then Nel son of Feinius came to converse with them, [and to find out who was there]: and there Aaron met with him [aside from the host], and Aaron told him tidings of the Sons of Israel, to wit, the marvels and miracles of Moses, and how the ten plagues—a clearness of testimony—were brought upon the people of Egypt, by reason of their [the Israelites'] enslavement. And they ratified a treaty and friendship, and Nel asked Aaron if they had provision or food-stores. He said further, that what is here of wheat and of good things—said he—shall all be put at your disposal. [Thereat the night fell upon them], and <Nel> went to his own house; and Aaron went into the camp, to the place where Moses was, and told him the welcome which he had received at the hands of Nel, and the good which he promised to the Sons of Israel. Grateful were Moses [and Aaron] to Nel, at those tidings.

144. But as for Nel, when he came to his own folk, he told them how the Sons of Israel had a camp at Phi-Hahiroth and at Succoth. He related the tidings of Moses and Aaron in full before the company. Now in that night a venomous poisonous serpent stung the little son whom Nel had, Gaedel Glas, and death was near to him. From that he received the addition to his name. His people said to Nel that he should carry the lad to Moses. The lad was brought to Moses, and Nel came with

⁶⁰maithes ⁶¹γ do chruithneacht ⁶²γ do mil acaindi ⁶³doberthar ar bar
comus ⁶⁴γ ar bar mbreitheannus sin uili ⁶⁵om. ⁶⁶Nel docum a
thigi iarsin ⁶⁷longport ⁶⁸i rabadar me Isrl- ⁶⁹faillte mor
⁷⁰oc ⁷¹gell ⁷²-dech Maise.

144. ¹dala ²o rainic a mt. (om. docum) ³ro ⁴i ⁵ac Socot
⁶ins. ⁷co ⁸i fiadnaisi ⁹tloig moir sin ¹⁰is andsin
¹¹in nathair nemneach nemi ¹²mbeg robui oc Niñil i. Gaedil
¹³Niñil B ¹⁴chomfocus ¹⁵-seom ¹⁶om. B ¹⁷raidsead ¹⁸re

¹⁹Maisi. Rugadh in mac sin eo Maisi, ⁊ dohnid Nēl ²⁰leis. Ocus ²¹rognī Maisi urraighthi diehra ²²frī²¹ Dia, ⁊ dorad in ²³hoisg n-uirrdraie fris in inadh ar²³ bean in ²⁴nathair risin mac, cor bo slān in mac. Ocus ro rāidh²⁷: Is ²⁶ceat liumsa ⁊ le Dia ²⁵nar urchoideca nathair don mac so, na dho dhúine ²⁸dia sīl ²⁹gu brāth, ⁊ ³⁰nar aitreaba nathair tria bithu ³¹sīr a aitreibi bunaidh a cloinde. Ocus ³²beidit, ol se, ³³rīgha ⁊ ³⁴ruirigh, nāim ⁊ firēoin, do sīl^(a) in meic ³⁵sin, ocus bīd an ³⁶inis tūaisceartaigh in domain bias ³⁷a ³⁸aitreabh a chineadh.³⁸ Conadh eadh sin ³⁹fodera gen nathair an Éirinn, ⁊ gan irehōid do dēnum⁴⁰ do ⁴¹nathair ⁴²na dho pēist conneim⁴¹ ⁴²fria duine ⁴³dho sīl Gāeidil. ⁴⁴Ocus ro fagaibh faghbāla don mac cona sīl, amail asbert in file,⁴⁴

Gāidhel Glas, fōghnaidh a rādh . . .

145. Is andsin ro rāid Nēl: Doria Forann ¹eugaind, ol sē, ⁊ no dāerfa sind ar in fáilti ²dorad-sum dībh-si,² ⁊ i cinaidh ³gan bhar fastogh. ⁴Tarr linde sa slighe amārach,⁴ ar Arōn, ⁊ an ⁵againd dogrēs, madh aīl ⁶duit: fōgebha comroind ⁷forba ⁊ fearoind isin tīr ro thairngir Dia ⁸da Macaib Israhel dia ⁹fogbom fōin. No madh fearr leat, doberamni libearna Foraind, eo ¹⁰mbead ar do eumas, ⁊ ¹¹éirig indteibh for muir, ⁊ ¹²fuirig-siu eo ¹³feassar-sa cindass sgerom-ni ⁊ Forand: ⁊ ¹⁴dēna ¹⁵do ¹⁶chomairle as a ¹⁷haile.

Is i ¹⁸sin ¹⁹comairle is ²⁰cōir and, ol Nēl.²¹ ²²No ²³cuirid andsin trā tri ²⁴mili fear n-armach ²⁵n-incomloinn maille re Nēl ²⁶gu hairm a mbadar na longa, ⁊ do radadh do ²⁷Niūl, combadar ar a ²⁸comas. † <Cid> ar na ²⁹bertais Meie Israhel ³⁰fōin leo ³¹cena na longa sin? || † Ar dāigh ³²na fadbadh Forann ³³trealma na^(b) ndiaidh. ||

¹⁹ Moy(s)i ⁊ rucad ²⁰les ²¹⁻²² dogni Moy(s)i hirmaithi ndiehra re ²³fria ria Dia. *the second word expuncted B* ²⁴⁻²⁵ fēise n-uirrdrie ris in inadh in ro ²⁶athair ²⁷ins. iar sin ²⁸cet liumsa olebena ⁊ is cet le Dia ²⁹na ra airehoitigi in nathair ³⁰dia sīl B ³¹co brach ³²na ro aitreaba ³³sīr a tīr an aitreaba bunad a c[h ye M]loindi ³⁴beid ³⁵rigda ³⁶ieh ⁊ ³⁷ins, ol se and om. sin ³⁸indsi thuaiscert ³⁹om. a ⁴⁰⁻⁴¹aitreb a cloindi ⁊ a chinich eo brath ⁴²⁻⁴³fodera can nathraich do beith in Éirinn ⁊ can irehoid do denam ⁴⁴nathraich ⁴⁵⁻⁴⁶om. ⁴⁷do ⁴⁸do sīl Gaeidil Glais ⁴⁹⁻⁵⁰om. *this sentence and appended poem.*

him. Moses made fervent prayer before God, and put the famous rod upon the place where the serpent stung the lad, so that he was cured. And he said: I command, and God commandeth, that no serpent harm this lad or any of his seed for ever: and that no serpent shall ever dwell in the homeland of his progeny. And, he said, there shall be kings and lords, saints and righteous, of the seed of that lad: and in a northern island of the world it is that the dwelling of his race shall be. This is the reason why there is no serpent in Ireland, and why no serpent or venomous reptile can do harm to any of the seed of Gaedel. And he left bequests to the lad and to his seed, as the poet said —

Poem no. XVIII.

145. Then it is that Nel said: Pharaο shall come to us, said he, and shall enslave us, for the welcome that we have given you, and for the crime of failing to hinder you. Come with us on tomorrow's route, said Aaron, and stay with us continually, if so thou wilt: thou shalt obtain an equal share of heritage and of territory in the land which God hath promised to the Sons of Israel for their own service. Or if thou dost prefer, we shall put the pinnaces of Pharaο at thy disposal: embark in them upon the sea, and stand by till thou knowest by what means we shall separate from Pharaο: and thereafter do thy good pleasure.

That is the advice which is right, said Nel. Then they sent with Nel three thousand men armed and fit for combat, to the place where the ships were, and they were given to Nel, so that they were at his disposal. [(Why) did not the Sons of Israel themselves take the ships? in order that Pharaο should not find means of pursuing them].

145. ¹chueaind ²⁻³-som daibsi, a macen Hisri- ⁴can for busdo ⁵⁻⁶tairr lindi con tuilib muinteri(c) isin sligig imbaireach ⁷acaind ⁸duid ⁊ fōgeba ⁹forba ⁊ fearaind ¹⁰do ¹¹fadbam feiu ¹²mbed ¹³do erich inti for muir ¹⁴fuig-siu B ¹⁵feasar-sa cindus seerom-ni ¹⁶denaid ¹⁷om. do ¹⁸comairli ¹⁹haithli sin ²⁰om. sin ²¹comairli ²²a very small dol over the e, of no importance B ²³ins. dol ar cend long Foraind ²⁴ro cuiread tra andsin ²⁵apparently ²⁶eniridh B ²⁷mile fer ²⁸om. ²⁹co ³⁰Nel ³¹chomus ³²berdais B ³³fen ³⁴om. cena ³⁵nar fagbad ³⁶trealma.

(a) The words *sīl in meic* clumsily re-linked M.

(b) Written *nadhaidh* B, and a stroke (= n) *ye* B over *adh*.

(c) Written ^cm

146. Doehomlai † Nél || in lín báí indtíbh sin, ⁊ ro 'tuirích eo 'féiceadh gnímrada in lāi iar na 'māraeh, i. 'dhuighi Mara kūaidh in 'ndiaidh in 'fobail, ⁊ 'bādhad Foraind cona slūaghaibh 'indte, i. 'sē míle coisighe ⁊ 'cōica míl marcach. Is eadh 'sin lín luidh 'a ndāil báis do muindtír 'Foraind a Muir Rūaidh.

147. 'Óteonnaire imorro Nél Forand cona slūaghaibh do 'bādhadh † 'im Muir Rūaidh ||, ro an 'isin ferand cētna, iar nī báí 'eagla fair na 'ōmon. Ocus ro 'foirbir a 'clann ⁊ a 'síl andsin in n'Éigipt, gersat míligh mōrehalma. Marb Nél iarsin iar 'cēin mair 'sin n'Éighipt, ⁊ gabais 'Gāedhel Glas ⁊ a māthair in 'ferand, ⁊ ro 'geinair mac 'dosidhein isin tír cētna, i. 'Esrū mac 'Gāedheil: ⁊ ro 'goiner mac 'dōsidein 'isin tír 'cētna, i. Srū mac Easrū meic Gāeidhil.

148. Dāla slūaigh 'Éigipte iarsin, gabhais Forand Tuir in 'flaithus tar ēis 'Foraind Cingeiris. Ocus ba 'Forann 'tuilleadh auma 'gach rígh 'rogab] 'Éighipt ódā Forand Cingeiris gu Forand Nedtenbhus; ⁊ ba 'hēsídhe 'in cūiced rígh trichad nō in cūiced rígh 'dēg iar 'Forann Cineceiris ro bāidheadh 'im Muir Rūaidh. Ocus 'ba har cūis onoraeh 'atherthea riu-son sin.

149. 'Intūsa Fhoraind Tuir iarsin ⁊ 'slūaigh 'Éigipte, ō ro badar 'gu trēn, ro 'cuimnighsead a n-anfolaídh mbunaidh do 'clannaibh Niūil ⁊ 'd'fme Gāedheal, i. a caradradh re Macaibh 'Israhel, ⁊ longa Foraind 'Cingeiris do breith do Niūil 'leis, in tan ro 'ēlodar Meic 'Israhel. Ro mōradh 'cogadh leo ⁊ 'anfolta na 'cean iarsin, ⁊ ro hindarbadh '† gu haimdeōnaeh || a 'Hēigipt.

146. 'fuigh B 'faiced 'maireach 'dluidi 'dinaid 'pobail
'badud 'inti 'se fichit míl 'caeca M, *erased* B 'om. sin lín
'in 'Foraind.

147. 'chond- 'bathad 'a 'annsa n'ferand chetna 'eacra
'oman 'oirbir 'cland 'síl annsin a n'Egept corsad 'cen
'isin Egept 'Gaeidel (*bis*) 'fearann 'genair 'do Gaeidel
iarsin 'Easru 'genair 'dosen 'is 'chedna.

146. [Nel] The company that was in them set forth, and stood by to see the transactions of the following day—the division of the Red Sea in the wake of the people, and the drowning of Pharaο with his hosts therein—six <score> thousand footmen and fifty thousand horsemen. That is the tally that went to meet death of the people of Pharaο in the Red Sea.

147. Now when Nel saw Pharaο with his hosts drowned [in the Red Sea], he remained upon the same estate; for he had no fear nor terror. His progeny and his seed increased there in Egypt, till they were warriors of great valour. Thereafter Nel died, after a long space, in Egypt, and Gaedel Glas and his mother took the estate. A son was born to him in the same land, Esru s. Gaedel. To him was a son born in the same land, Sru s. Esru s. Gaedel.

148. As for the host of Egypt after that, Pharaο Tuir took the principedom after Pharaο Cineris. Now 'Pharaο' was an additional name for every king <who took> Egypt, from Pharaο Cineris to Pharaο Nectanebus: he was the thirty-fifth—or the fifteenth—King after Pharaο Cineris who was drowned in the Red Sea. It was for the sake of honour that this name was bestowed upon them.

149. As for Pharaο Tuir thereafter and the host of Egypt, when they attained strength, they called to mind their hereditary hostility against the progeny of Nel and the family of Gaedel—the friendship which he had shown to the Sons of Israel, and Nel's taking of the ships of Pharaο Cineris with him, when the Sons of Israel escaped. War and hostilities against them were increased thereafter upon them, and they were expelled, [against their will], out of Egypt.

148. 'Eiept imorro 'flaithas 'Fhoraind Chingiris 'fa
'fuillead 'cach 'rogob Eiept ota Fhorand Cingiris co
F. Nechdenebus 'hesiden 'om. 'dec 'Forand Cingiris
'i 'fa ar 'adb. riu-san.

149. 'inthusa 'tūaig Eiept 'co 'chuimnigsead a n-anf.
'clundaib 'do fine Gaeidil 'Hisrl- 'Cingeris 'les 'cladar
'Hisrl- asin dairi Eieptagda 'cacad 'anfoltana 'om.
'co 'Hegept.

150. Srū † mac Easrū meic ¹Gāidhīl ||, ²is ē ba taiseach do ³Gāidelaibh ⁴agan indarba † a ⁵Hēigipt ⁶ō ra bāitheadh Forand ⁷im Muir Rūaidh an dhangaidh Mac nIsrahel ||. Sechtinoga 7 secht cēt bliadan ē dīlind ⁸conuigi sin: ⁹cethracha 7 ceithre cēt bliadan ōn aimsir sin ¹⁰nar bāidhead ¹¹Forand 7 ¹²ō tānig Sru ¹³mac Easrū a Hēigipt, ¹⁴gus an aimsir ¹⁵thāngadar Meic Míleadh ¹⁶an Erinn, † .i. Eber 7 ¹⁷Erinōn ||: ¹⁸dia n-chairt—

Cethracha 7 cethri cēt . . .

151. Lucht ¹ceitri long luadh Srū ²a ³Hēigipt, 7 ⁴ceitri lāmhona fíche gacha luinge,⁵ 7 triar ⁶andhos gacha luinge.⁷ Srū 7 a mac .i. Eber Scot, ⁸ba hiad taisig na loingsi sin.

Is i sligi dolodar, for Muir Rūaid ¹d'Inis Tibrad ²Fāine, ³timecheall Sléibhi Rífi botuaidh co ⁴rāngadar in Sceithia, 7 con-⁵snighsead im ⁶flaithus na ⁷Sceithia .i. ⁸clanna Nūil 7 ⁹Neanuail, dā mac ¹⁰Feiniassa Farrsaigh. ¹¹Ōn aimsir sin go haimsir Reifloir meic Neman 7 Milidh meic¹² Bile, mōr ¹³do ¹⁴cathaibh 7 do chonghalaibh 7 do ¹⁵choctaibh 7 do fíngalaibh ro imirsead eatorru ¹⁶frisín rē sin, ¹⁷gur goin ¹⁸Milí mac Bile ¹⁹Reifloir mac ²⁰Nema.

²¹Imtūsa Srū, ō rānie in Sceithia, ²²fōcētōir marb Noeneal hua ²³Feiniusa. ²⁴Rogabh ²⁵Naenel mac Baaith meic ²⁶Naenual meic ²⁷Feiniusa Farrsaigh ²⁸flaitus na Sceithia. Marb Srū dono ²⁹fōcētōir tarēis ³⁰Naenuail.

150. ¹Gaeidil, Gaeidelaib ²is he fa ³oan ⁴Hegept
⁵o ro baided ⁶a ⁷coruici ⁸ceath- ⁹inar ¹⁰ann ¹¹a tainie
¹²om. mac Esru ¹³cus ¹⁴i tancadar ¹⁵in Erind ¹⁶Eremon
¹⁷dia ndebairt in teolach.

151. ¹ceathra ²ins. mac, but no more ³Hegept ⁴ceithri
lanamna fíchead eacha luingi ⁵amus forcraid eacha luingi ⁶fa hiad
toisich ⁷7 dindsib ⁸Fane ⁹ins. 7 timchell Slebe R. fothuaid

150. Sru [s. Esru s. Gaedel], he it is who was chieftain for the Gaedil at that expulsion [from Egypt, after Pharaο was drowned in the Red Sea, in the wake of the Sons of Israel]. Seven hundred and seventy years from the Flood till then: four hundred and forty years from that time when Pharaο was drowned, and when Sru s. Esru came out of Egypt, to the time when the sons of Mil came into Ireland, [to wit, Eber and Eremon]: whercanent one said—

Poem no. XII.

151. Four ships' companies strong went Sru out of Egypt. There were twenty-four wedded couples and three hirelings for every ship. Sru and his son Eber Scot, they were the leaders of that voyage.

The route which they followed was on the Red Sea to the island of Taprobane, around the Rhipaeen Mountain northward till they reached Scythia, and contested in the matter of the principedom of Scythia—that is, the progeny of Nel and Nenual, the two sons of Feinius Farsaid. From that time till the time of Refloir son of Noemius and of Mil son of Bile, many battles and combats and wars and kin-murders were transacted between them during that space, till Mil son of Bile inflicted a mortal wound upon Refloir, son of Noemius.

As for Sru, when he reached Scythia, immediately Nenual grandson of Feinius died. Nenual son of Baath son of Nenual son of Feinius Farsaid took the principedom of Scythia. Now Sru died immediately after Nenual.

¹⁰rancadar ¹¹srigsed ¹²flaithius ¹³Sceithia ¹⁴clanda
¹⁵Nenuail ¹⁶Feiniusa Farrsaich ¹⁷ō aimsir Refloir meic Neman
cosin 7 asin co Milid mac ¹⁸ins. tra ¹⁹chathaib ²⁰choethaib
²¹foden fris in ²²cor ²³Milig ²⁴Refloir ²⁵Owing to a blot,
looks like Neman B; Nema na sliasait M ²⁶imthusa ²⁷focedair ro
ro marb Noenel ²⁸Fheniusa ²⁹rogob ³⁰Noennel ³¹Noennil
³²Feni; a Farrsaich ³³flaithius ³⁴focedoir ³⁵Noennil.

152. ¹Gabas Èber Scot ‡ mac Srū || ²air èigin rìghi na ³Seithia òs cloind ⁴Neannail ‡ meic Feiniasa ||, ⁵condor-chair la ⁶Nainias mac Neannail. ‡ Ar marbadh Èbir trà ||, ⁷bàl ⁸cosnam nòr ‡ ⁹im flaithus || itir ¹⁰Neinias ‡ mac ¹¹Nainil || ‡ ¹²Boamoin mac Èbir ¹³Sguit.

¹⁴Gabas Boaman rìghi a nirt ¹⁵cosnamha atòn Sceithia ¹⁶Thùais-certaig gu tracht Mara Caisp, ¹⁷gundorchair i ¹⁸ceilg eatha la ¹⁹Ninias mac ²⁰Neannail. ²¹Gabas ²²Neinias in ²³flaitus iarsin, ²⁴condorchair la ²⁵Hogamman mac ²⁶mBoamain a ndigail a athar. ²⁷Gabas Ogamman iarsin in ²⁸rìghe ²⁹conerballt indte, ‡ i. isin ³⁰rìge ||. Bàl cosnom imon ³¹flaithus ³²fri a rù, ³³ceithra mbliadna iar sin, ³⁴idir ³⁵Refloir mac ³⁶Refill ‡ ³⁷Milidh mac ³⁸mBile. ³⁹Oeus is andsin ⁴⁰bàl ingean gnàitheach ag Refloir diar bho ⁴¹comainm ⁴²Seang ingean ⁴³Refloir, ‡ ro ⁴⁴furail Refloir air Milidh mac mBile in ⁴⁵ingen soin, ‡ ⁴⁶dosfuigh ⁴⁷Milid mac Bile, ‡ bàl ⁴⁸aige go gràdhach, ⁴⁹go rug dias chloind dhò, i. Aireach ⁵⁰Fabhrudh ‡ Donn a ⁵¹n-anmunda. Is andsin ro ⁵²cograd Refulair a cliamain do marbad, ⁵³air ba ⁵⁴heugail leis a thidhtain fris ⁵⁵fa rìghi: ‡ ⁵⁶ràinig a fìs sin do mac Bile, ‡ i. a ⁵⁷ehogar da cliamain ||. Oeus dochuaidh ⁵⁸fèin i cenn cogaidh iar sin, ‡ ro ⁵⁹comraig ‡ ⁶⁰Rofeallair, ‡ ro gonsun ⁶¹Refallair ⁶²gu garb ‡ ⁶³gu hamnas tria na ⁶⁴sliasaid, ‡ ⁶⁵ba guin digla ‡ bhàis. ⁶⁶Ro theasbaigh mòr ⁶⁷ag slùaghaibh na Sceithia ⁶⁸im lot ‡ im guin a tigerna do mac ⁶⁹mBile, ‡ ro ⁷⁰hindarbadh asin Sceithia hē, ‡ dochuaidh ⁷¹Milidh iarsin ‡ ⁷²rug a claid leis. Ceithre barea a mor ⁷³ceblach, eòie ⁷⁴lānomna dēg ⁷⁵gacha bairce ‡ amos ⁷⁶foraidh gan mnaí. Ansd tri ⁷⁷misa an ⁷⁸inis Tibrad Faine: tri ⁷⁹misa ele dōib for ⁸⁰fairge gur rāngadar Ègipt, i. a cind ⁸¹ceithra mbliadan ⁸²cōicat ar tri ⁸³cēt ar míle iar ngabhail Èrenu do ⁸⁴Parthalōn, ‡ a cind ⁸⁵ceithra ar dēc ar nōi cētaibh iar mbādhdh ⁸⁶Forann Cingceris i ⁸⁷Muir Rūaid.

152. ¹ais ²ar cicin ³Sceithia ⁴Neannail m. Fheniasa ⁵co torchair ⁶Naenius m. Nennail ⁷bui ⁸cosnam maiz flaithus ⁹imon flaithius ¹⁰Noenius ¹¹Nennail ¹²Boamain ¹³Scuit ¹⁴ais Boamain in rìgi ¹⁵chosnama ¹⁶-taich co ¹⁷co torchair ¹⁸celg chatha ¹⁹Nenius ²⁰Nennail ²¹gobais ²²Noenius ²³flaithius ²⁴co torchair ²⁵-amain ²⁶om. m- ²⁷gabais Ogamain ²⁸rìgi ²⁹conderballt inti ³⁰rìgi ³¹flaithius ³²fri re ³³cheathra ³⁴itir ³⁵Refloir ³⁶Refill ³⁷Milig ³⁸Bili ³⁹om. ‡ ⁴⁰ro bàl ingean gnàteach ac Refloir ⁴¹chomainm ⁴²Seng ⁴³Refloir ⁴⁴furail Refloir ar Milig ⁴⁵n-ingen sin ⁴⁶dusfue ⁴⁷om. Milid

152. Èber Scot [son of Sru] took the kingship of Seythia by force from the progeny of Nennal [son of Feinius], till he fell at the hands of Noemius son of Nennal. [Now after the slaying of Èber], there was great contention [in the matter of the principedom], between Noemius [son of Nennal] and Boamain son of Èber Scot.

Boamain took the kingship by force of combat from Northern Seythia to the shore of the Caspian Sea, till he fell in a battle-ambush at the hands of Noemius son of Nennal. Noemius took the principedom thereafter, till he fell at the hands of Ogamain son of Boamain in vengeance for his father. Ogamain took the kingship thereafter till he died in it—[that is, in the kingship]. There was contention in the matter of the principedom during his time, four years after that, between Refloir s. Refill and Mil s. Bile. Now Refloir had a comely daughter there, whose name was Seng d. Refloir: and Refloir offered that maiden to Mil s. Bile. Mil s. Bile took her, and she was with him in loving wise, till she bore him two children; Airech Febhrud and Donn were their names. Then it was that Refloir plotted to slay his kinsman, for he feared that he would come against him for the kingship. Tidings thereof came to the son of Bile, [that is to say, of his kinsman's plotting]. Thereafter he himself went to battle, and he and Refloir fought, and he wounded Refloir severely and painfully through his thigh—a wound of vindictiveness and of death. The hosts of Seythia felt it a great loss that their lord should be hurt and mortally wounded by the son of Bile, and he was expelled out of Seythia: so Mil went thereafter, and took his children with him. Four ships were their sea-fleet, fifteen wedded couples in each ship, and an additional unwived hireling. They remained three months in the island of Taprobane. Other three months had they on the sea till they reached Egypt, at the end of one thousand three hundred fifty and four years after Partholon took Ireland, and at the end of nine hundred and fourteen years after the drowning of Pharaoh Cineris in the Red Sea.

⁴⁸ aici co gradach ⁴⁹ ‡ ruc dis do chloind ⁵⁰ Febhrud ⁵¹ n-anmann ⁵² chocair Refloir ⁵³ ar ⁵⁴ haigmeil leis ⁵⁵ ima rìgi ⁵⁶ ranc in fìsin da mac Bili ⁵⁷ chocur ⁵⁸ fen a cend in chocaid ⁵⁹ chomraic ⁶⁰ Refloir ‡ ro gon-son ⁶¹ ins. ‡ B: Raffoir M ⁶² co (bis) ⁶³ -ait ⁶⁴ fa ⁶⁵ fa ro easbaid ⁶⁶ ac ⁶⁷ um ⁶⁸ om. m- ⁶⁹ hinnarbad ⁷⁰ Milig ⁷¹ ruc leis a eland ⁷² choblach ⁷³ -amna dec ⁷⁴ eacha bairci ⁷⁵ sic B forcraid cen M ⁷⁶ mis ⁷⁷ indsi Thibrad Fane ⁷⁸ mis aile ⁷⁹ fairrgi co rancadar crich Eigepti ⁸⁰ cheathra ⁸¹ ins. ar ⁸² chedaib ar mili ⁸³ Parr- ⁸⁴ .iiii. mbl- dec ar cet ar nae (c sprs. cM) mbl. ⁸⁵ Foraind Cingeris ⁸⁶ a.

153. 'Forann Nechtenibus ba rígh Eigipti in ianbhaig sin, amail roean in t-eólach in rann so,'

Ro gon Milig, fa maith clann . . .

Ocus 'robái ingen 'ig Forand .i. Scota a hainm-sidéin, 7 ro 'chuindig Milidh in ingen sin, 7 'tug Forand dó hí: 7 rue in Scota sin dá mac dhó, .i. 'Aimírgin Glúngeal 7 'Eimír a 'h-anmanda. Is 'andsin ro indarb 'Alaxandair rígh in domain in 'Forand sin, 'ór nír bo ríarach dó hē, 7 ro 'diehair san Eithióp 'ndeisceartaig búdeas he: 7 ro 'cundaiged cathair la Halaxandar 'in Éigipt iar ndiehar Forand dhó, .i. Alexandria a hainm. 'Anais trá 'Milidh mac 'Bile ocht mbliadna 'in Éigipt, 7 ro foglaimsead dá 'fear dēc 'dia muindtír prímdána: 'in Sēghdha, in Sobairee, 7 in Suirghe fria 'sáirsi, 'Mandtan 7 'Caithear 7 'Fulman 'fria draidheacht; badar 'bualaind 7 badair 'firbreathaigh in triar 'eile, .i. 'Goisdean 7 'Amairgein 7 'Dond: badar 'cathbuaighaigh in triar 'eile, .i. 'Milidh 7 'Oige 7 'Uige. 'Ocus ro ailsead a 'n-il-gnimha 7 a n-ill-dánacht isin 'Eigipt.

154. O 'ro fairigh trá 'Milidh 'fainde 7 'aimneart do thiachtain 'd'Forand, 7 'Alaxandair 'aga indarba ||, 'eileabraidh dó: 7 nír 'hair a úamhoin itir, acht ro 'tairngeiridh ó druidhib 'ferann 7 righe do ghabháil dó. 'Doluigh Milidh iarsin 7 for Muir Rúaidh ||, in lín cētna 'robái, 7 Scota ingen 'Forand leis.

155. 'Dosfáinegh gāeth mōr, 'bertais sair isin 'n-aigen, 'seach Indniam, seach Cirord, 'seach Golgardaina, seach Indber nGaid, d'inis 'Tibra Faine, 7 'anaid mī innti ||, 'congabhsad tír 'indti. 'Imréid iar sin seach 'Indnia, seach Sliabh 'Coguaist aniar, 'seach Ithiam, seach sruth 'Boriam, 'seach Sceithiam 'fartharaigh síar, 'do inbhear Mara Caisp. Gabhsad 'tost trí nōmaide for Muir 'Caisp fria dord na 'murdhūchond. 7 Is ó fáilti domiad, canaid ceól 'im n-a eire[h]aibh 7 im na bareaibh,

153. 'Forand Fornechtenibus fa rig Egept an inbaid sin, 7 fuair Milig morfailti aici: 7 is do sin ro chan in t-eólach in rand-sa 'bai (om. ro) 'oc 'dich Milig 'tue 'Aimírgin Glúngeal 'Emer 'nna 'andsin 'Alaxandair rig 'Forann 'nair ní ha 'diehuir isan Eitheoib 'aich fodeas 'cundaigh B chuindich M 'om. 'ins. na cathrach sin 7 iar ndiehar Forand ro cundaiged in cathair sin 'Milig 'Bili 'an Egept 'fer 'da 'i. Segda 7 Sobairee 7 Suirgi fri 'Mantán 'Caithear 'fri draigeacht 'buadlaind 'aich 'aile 'Goisten 'Aimírgin 'ins. i B: cathbuaiga M 'aile 'Milig 'Oici 'Uici '7 ailsead 'gnima 7 a n-il-dánacht 'nEgept.

153. Pharao Nechtenibus was King of Egypt at that time, as the learned sang this quatrain

Poem no. XIX.

Now Pharao had a daughter named Scota, and Mil asked for that maiden, and Pharao gave her to him: and that Scota bore two sons to him, Amorgen Glungeal and Eber their names. It is then that Alexander, king of the world, drove out that Pharao, for he was not submissive to him, and expelled him southward, into southern Ethiopia: and a city was built by Alexander in Egypt after he had expelled Pharao, Alexandria its name. Mil son of Bile tarried eight years in Egypt, and twelve men of his followers learnt the principal arts: Segda, Sobairee, and Suirge learnt craftsmanship, Mantán, Caicher, and Fulman learnt druidry: another three, Gosten, Amorgen, and Dond, were arbitrators and judges: the other three, Mil, Oici, and Uici, were warriors. They nurtured their multiplicity of actions and of accomplishments in Egypt.

154. Now when Mil perceived that weakness and loss of strength had come upon Pharao, [and that Alexander was driving him out], he took leave of him: by no means from fear, but it had been promised him by druids that he would get an estate and a kingdom. Thereafter Mil went [upon the Red Sea]—there was the same tally as before—and Scota daughter of Pharao with him.

155. A great wind came upon them, which carried them eastward in the ocean, past India, past Cirord, past Golgardoma, past the estuary of the Ganges, to the island of Taprobane, and they landed therein. [They remain within it a month]. Thereafter they voyaged past India, past Mount Caucasus from the west, past Ithia, past the river Boría, past western Seythia westward, to the estuary of the Caspian Sea. They were in silence for three weeks upon the Caspian Sea, by

154. 'ra airig 'Milig 'faindi 'nerti 'ar 'nea n-indarba 'celebraid 'hara oman 'giread 'Forann righe B: ferann 7 rigi do gobail M 'doluid 'om. robai.

155. 'fanic in gaeth '7 beris soir 'n-aicen 'sech Innia sech 'sech Golgardoma 'Tibraid Fane 'i. Matumiti B 'ins. 7 'innti 'imrit 'Innia 'Cuenis 'seach (Iriam expuncted) Ithiam B sech n-Ithiam M 'Boiriam 'sech Sceithia 'aich síar 'd'indber 'tost .i. ix maide B, tost ind .iii. ix maidi M 'Chaisp fri 'luchand 'in in a B in a curchaib 7 in a mbaraib 'cuimgid 'can chodlad

cona ²²cumgaid na dāine ²³gan colladh fris. ²⁴Intī is cōlach triu doberaid bī leaghtha na ²⁵clūassaibh, ar ²⁶na cluindis in cōl itir. Ro ²⁷eachladar cōl iarom do muindtir, ²⁸|| eor theasairg Caitear drai.²⁹

Dolodar a tīr na ³⁰Cichloisgthe:

B

fearoid-sidēin cath amail fīru friu. Is aire do loisedis a cīche deasa, ar na tairmisedis a congeindtleacht, conad anfaith gebeas f[]athus in tīre sin. Dā ceinēl trichad a l-lin. Do fagsat—

M

γ fearaid catha co hīlarda amail fīru friu. Is aire ro loisedis a cīchi deasa, ar na tairmised a n-dībraici umpu. Ocus is ē lin geibeas flaithius in tīri sin .i. dā ehenēl trichad a lin. Ocus do faesad—

meic ³¹Milidh lucht ³²fichit long dia ³³muinteir annsin, γ ³⁴ceithre ³⁵ceinēla cethrachad ³⁶gu Sceithia.

156. Dolodar ¹seach Albaniam siar, ²seach ³Slēibh Rīf a ⁴tūaigh, sech Alaniam, ⁵congabsat in nAissra. Ansa ⁶mī indte. ⁷Asbert Caithear drai ⁸riu: Nī anfaidis ⁹gu roistis Erinn. ¹⁰Rēisead iarom seach ¹¹Ghothiam do German: ceithre ceinēl cōicat a lin, in tan dono ¹²thāinīg loingis Mac ¹³Mīled, gur gabsad in ¹⁴Gearmain ina hoirter. ¹⁵Dolodar dā n-ocht ¹⁶dēg ¹⁷mīlidh do mīleadaibh ¹⁸Traicia for loingeas, ¹⁹gu macu Mīled, .i. fo clū ²⁰nirderu(i)s na loingsi; ²¹combadar ²²in n-āentaigh Mac ²³Mīled: γ do ²⁴rarnairsead arsaigh doibhsium soighe thīre leo dia ngabhdais ²⁵tīr feisin. ²⁶Dēsin trā rothēalgadar Gāidhīl ar ēigin in tīr a ²⁷filead Cruithneachu. In ²⁸mīleidh sin trā ²⁹dolodar a ³⁰Traicia i Cruithneantuaith.(b) ³¹Rēisseadh iar sin tar sruth ³²Rēin, seach ³³Gailliam do ³⁴Belgicham i bail ³⁵ocht ceandadacha dēg ³⁶i bail cūig caitheacha dēg ar cēt: ³⁷seach ³⁸lind Lughdhanensis, ³⁹sech Gailliam Equitunniam in Easpāin⁴⁰ deiscertaigh: dar

²¹neach ²²cluasaib ²³nach cluintis ²⁴chechladar ²⁵ins. Milid: co ro theasaire ²⁶ins. iad: do lotar i tīr ²⁷loisci. In mg. in a 17th cent. hand, Amazonam regio, M ²⁸Mīlead ²⁹om. fichit B ³⁰M ³¹ceithri M, im. changed to the numeral by dotting the minims B ³²cenela ceath-³³co.

156. ¹sech Albania ²ins. γ ³Sliab Rife ⁴tuaid γ seach ⁵congabsad inaicia ⁶mis inti ⁷adbert ⁸friu ⁹co roithdis Erind ¹⁰roichset iarom ¹¹Goithiam ¹²tanig loinges ¹³ead eor ¹⁴German isin n-airther ¹⁵dolotar ¹⁶om. ¹⁷mīlead ¹⁸ins. na: Traigia for loinges ¹⁹co macaib

reason of the crooning of the Sirens. [This is the welcome they would make: they would chant music around their canoes and their ships, and the people could not choose but fall asleep thereat. He who was most cunning among them would place molten pitch in their ears, so that they should hear naught of the music. Thereafter they sang music to the followers (of Mil),] till Caiche the druid rescued them.

They came into the land of the Amazons,

who fought a battle like men with them. This is why they were wont to burn their right breasts, that they should not hinder (their warrior-craft, so that no tyrant)(a) should take dominion of that country. Thirty-two tribes were their tally.

who fought battles in multitudes like unto men with them. This is why they were wont to burn their right breasts that their archery should not be interfered with thereby. This is the tally of them that took dominion of that land, thirty-two tribes. And

The sons of Mil left the crews of twenty ships of their people there, and forty-four companies [from that back] to Scythia.

156. They came past Albania westward, past the Rhipæan Mountain in the north, past Alaniam, till they settled in Asia. They stayed a month there. Caiche the druid said unto them: Ye shall not rest till ye reach Ireland. Thereafter they journeyed past Gothia to Germania: fifty-four tribes was their tally when the expedition of the sons of Mil came, and they settled in Germania in the East. Twice eighteen of the soldiers of Thrace came on an expedition to the sons of Mil, that is, inspired by the fame of the glory of the expedition: so that they came into a league with the sons of Mil: and elders had promised them that they should attain to a territory along with them, if they should themselves take land. For that reason the Gaedil attacked by force the land where the Cruithne are. Now these soldiers came from Thrace into Piet-land. They sailed thereafter across the river Rhine, past Gallia to Belgia, where there are eighteen

Mīlead ²⁰γ nirdercus ²¹ins. sin ²²an āentaigh ²³ead ²⁴rarnairsead faidi doibseam saigid thiri ²⁵feisin tīr ²⁶Is desin trā ro selgadar Gaedil ²⁷fuilead Cruithnig aniu ²⁸Milig ²⁹dolodar ditto-graphed ³⁰Tragia ³¹rearsad ³²Ren ³³Gailliam ³⁴Belgichaine i fail i fuil (sic) ³⁵⁻³⁶.iii. connacha dec ea fuilead .u. cathracha deg ar chet ³⁷γ ins. seo. man. B ³⁸lind ditto-graphed B ³⁹⁻⁴⁰seach Gailliam seach Eartuniam siar co

(a) See the note, pp. 146-7.

(b) An erasure of three letters here, B.

158. ¹Conad aire sin ro hindarbadh sīl ²nGaedil for muir, i. ³Agnomain γ ⁴Lāmfind a mae, eo mbadar secht bliadna for muir ⁵a timeoll in domain a tūaidh. ⁶As lia a thuiream na mar indistear: γ ⁷is andsin ro ⁸chēsadar mōr d’ule. ⁹Is ¹⁰aire tugadh Lāmfind ¹¹ar mae ¹²nAghnomoin, ¹³ar na ba soillsi ¹⁴caindell inaid a lāmha con ¹⁵inrom. ¹⁶Trī longa dōibh, γ ceangal ¹⁷etorru na deachsad cāch ¹⁸dōibh ō chēle. Trī ¹⁹tōisig badar ²⁰oga, iar ²¹n-ēg Agnomain isin ²²muinehind Mara Caisp, i. ²³Lāmfind γ Alloth γ Caithear drai.

159. Is ¹ē in Caithear sin ²dorighne ³leigheas dōibh dia mbāi in ⁴murdūchaidn aga mbregadh, i. bāi in ⁵collud aga forrach⁶ frisin ⁷ceōl. Is ⁸ē leigheas fuair ⁹Caithear dōib, i. ¹⁰ceir do leaghadh ¹¹na clūasaibh. Is ¹²ē ¹³Caithear adubairt dia ¹⁴rosfug in gāeth isin n-aigen, ¹⁵gur cēsadar mōr do gorta γ ¹⁶d’itaid and, eo ¹⁷ruachtadar a cind seachtmaine ¹⁸i rind mōr ¹⁹ō Slēbh Rifi bho tūaid, conadh isin rind sin ²⁰fuairadar tobar ²¹go mblās ²²fina, ²³go ro ²⁴loingsi (*sic*) and combadar trī ²⁵lā γ trī ²⁶haidhehe in a cotludh andsin: ²⁷condebairt ²⁸Caithear drai: ²⁹Erigh, ar sē, γ nī anfam ³⁰go roisium Eriu. Ca hairm ³¹atā Eiriu? ar ³²Lāmfind mae Agnōin. Is ³³faidi, ar ³⁴Cathar drai, ³⁵nā ’n Sceithia, γ nī sind fēin ³⁶roichfeas acht ar cland, ³⁷a cind trī cēt bliadan ³⁸ōndiu.

158. ¹conadh uime B ²nGaedil tar ³Agnon ⁴Laimind ⁵timehell (*om. a*) ⁶uair is lia a tuir. ⁷*om. is andsin* ⁸chesidar ⁹ins. γ ¹⁰airi thuead Lāmfind ¹¹*om. ar mae B* ¹²Agnon ¹³uair nir ho ¹⁴coindell anait ¹⁵inram ¹⁶ceathra ¹⁷eturru ¹⁸o chele dib ¹⁹taisieh ²⁰acco ²¹nec Agnon ²²cind M ²³Lamfind γ Elloth.

159. ¹he ²dorindi. ³leiges doib ⁴chand oga mbregad ⁵⁻⁵collad oca mellad ⁶*written ceoil and the i expuncted B* ⁷he leiges ⁸theat

158. For that reason was the seed of Gaedel driven forth upon the sea, to wit Agnomain and Lamfind his son, so that they were seven years on the sea skirting the world on the northern side. More than can be reckoned or related <is their adventure>, and there they suffered much of hardship. The reason why the name Lamfind was given to the son of Agnomain was, that not (greater) in radiance was a candle than his hands, on the voyage. They had three ships with a coupling between them, that none of them should move away from the rest. They had three chieftains after the death of Agnomain on the surface of the Caspian Sea, namely Lamfind and Allot and Caicher the druid.

159. This is that Caicher who made a remedy for them, when the sirens were playing them false: sleep was overcoming them at the music. This is a remedy which Caicher the druid found for them, to melt wax in their ears. It is Caicher who spake when the wind drave them into the ocean, so that they suffered much with hunger and thirst there; till at the end of a week they reached a great promontory northward from the Rhipacan Mountain, and in that promontory they found a spring with the taste of wine, and they feasted there, and were three days and three nights asleep there. But Caicher the druid said: Rise, said he, we shall not rest until we reach Ireland. What place is ‘Ireland’? said Lamfind son of Agnomain. Further than Seythia is it, said Caicher the druid; it is not ourselves who shall reach it, but our children, at the end of three hundred years from today.

⁹cer ¹⁰ins. na leagad ¹¹he ¹²-ther ¹³-fuc ¹⁴*om. gur: cēsadar* ¹⁵ditai B ¹⁶ro ruachtadar ¹⁷a ¹⁸*om. o: Slēbh Rife fo thuaid* ¹⁹fuairadar ²⁰co ²¹fina ²²co ²³loingsiad ²⁴laithi ²⁵haidhe na codlad ²⁶concarbailt B ²⁷-ther ²⁸airgid ²⁹co roisem Eriud ³⁰ita an Eriu ³¹Lamfind ³²fada ³³Caithear ³⁴ina in ³⁵roithfeas ³⁶i ³⁷oniug.

160. ¹Gabhsat ²Iarsin is na Gaethlaigib Meadondaeda. Is andsin ³rugadh mac do ⁴Lāimfind .i. ⁵Eber Glūnfind : .i. ⁶comarta geala badar for a ghlūnibh. ⁷Is ē ⁸ba ⁹faiseach ¹⁰dar ēis a athar. ¹¹Hua dō-sain. Feibhri, hua dō-sein Nuada.

161. Brath mac ¹Deaatha meic ²Earehadha meic ³Alloid meic ⁴Nuagad meic ⁵Nenuail meic ⁶Fheibrie Glais meic ⁷Aighue Find meic ⁸Ebir Glūnfind meic ⁹Lāmfind meic ¹⁰Aghnomain meic ¹¹Thaid meic ¹²Ogamain meic ¹³Beomoin meic ¹⁴Eimie Sguit meic ¹⁵Srū meic ¹⁶Easrū meic ¹⁷Gāidil ¹⁸otaid Gāidil.¹⁹ Is ²⁰ē sein tainig is na ²¹Gaethloighibh, ²²iar ut Mara ²³Toirriam, do ²⁴Crēid, ⁊ do ²⁵Shigir, ⁊ do ²⁶riachtadar ²⁷gu Heaspāiu ²⁸iar sin. Gabhsat ²⁹Easpāin air ēigin.

162. ¹Adnomain trā mac Tait, is ē ²Gāidheal-tōisinach ³thānig asin Sceithia. Dā mac lais, .i. Lāimfind ⁊ ⁴Alloth. Aen mac ⁵aig Lāimfind .i. Eber Glūnfind. Aen mac ⁶ag Alloth, .i. Eber Dub, i ⁷conhainsir is na ⁸Gaethloighibh. Dā ⁹hua aeco i ¹⁰conflaithus .i. ¹¹Toitheachta mac ¹²Teitrig meic ¹³Ebir ¹⁴Duinn ⁊ ¹⁵Nenuail mac ¹⁶Feibrig meic ¹⁷Adhgnoin meic ¹⁸Ebir Glūnfind, ⁊ ¹⁹Soitheachta mac ²⁰Mandtain meic Caithir.²¹

163. Lucht ¹ceithre long tra ²tāngadar Gāidhil gu Heaspāin, ⁊ ³mōrseisiur amhus gan mhnā. Brath, lucht luingi. ⁴Oige ⁊ ⁵Uige, lucht dā long—dā bhrāthair iad, .i. dā mac Alloith meic ⁶Ogamain meic ⁷Thoithechta meic ⁸Teitrig meic ⁹Ebir ¹⁰Duinn meic ¹¹Alloith meic ¹²Ogamoin. ¹³Mandtan, lucht ¹⁴luinge, mac ¹⁵Caicher meic Earehadha

160. ¹gabhsad ²sic M; iar nGaethloighibh Meadh eobaedhai B ³ruad ⁴find ⁵Emer Glūnfind ⁶comarthada gela ⁷ins. ⁊ ⁸fa ⁹sech ¹⁰tar ¹¹fa dosiden fa fua Feibrig, ua dosiden .i. Nuada.

161. ¹Deatha ²Ercha ³Alloit ⁴Nuadad ⁵Nenuail ⁶Febri ⁷Agnoin Find ⁸Laimfind ⁹Agnoimoin ¹⁰Thait ¹¹ain ¹²Ebir Scuit ¹³Gaeidil ¹⁴⁻¹⁵om. ¹⁶he sin tanic as ¹⁷laligib ¹⁸om. ar ut B ¹⁹-ian ²⁰Chreid ²¹Thieil ²²co Iisp. ²³om. iar sin, ins. ⁊: gabhsad ²⁴Er.

160. Thereafter they settled in the Maeotic Marshes. There a son was born to Lamfind, Eber Glunfind: that is, white marks were on his knees. He it is who was chieftain after his father. His grandson was Febri: his grandson was Nuadu.

161. Brath s. Death s. Ercha s. Allot s. Nuadu s. Nenuail s. Febri Glas s. Agni Find s. Eber Glunfind s. Lamfind s. Agnomain s. Tat s. Ogamain s. Boamain s. Eber Scot s. Sru s. Esru s. Gaidel from whom are the Gaidil. He it is who came in [*sic*, read "out of"] the Marshes, along the Torrian Sea, to Crete and to Sicily, and thereafter they reached Spain. They took Spain by force.

162. As for Agnomain s. Tat, he was the Gaedil-chieftain who came out of Scythia. He had two sons, Lamfind and Alloth. Lamfind had one son, Eber Glunfind. Alloth had one son, Eber Dub, at the same time as [the sojourn in] the Marshes. They had two grandsons in joint rule, Toithecht s. Tetrech s. Eber Donn, and Nenuail s. Febri s. Agnomain s. Eber Glunfind; there was also Sothecht s. Mantan s. Caicher.

163. Four ships' companies strong came the Gaedil to Spain, with seven unwived hirelings. Brath, a ship's company. Ocee and Ucee, two ships' companies: two brethren were they, the sons of Allot s. Ogamain s. Toithecht s. Tetrech s. Eber Donn (*read* Dub) s. Allot s. Ogamain. Mantan, a ship's company—s. Caicher s.

162. ¹Aignoimen ²Gaeidel-toisech ³tanig ⁴Alloith ⁵ac Lamfind ⁶ac ⁷comainsir ⁸Gaethlaidib ⁹ua aco ¹⁰-theas ¹¹Toithechta ¹²Teitrig ¹³Duib ¹⁴Febrig ¹⁵Agnoin ¹⁶Soithechta ¹⁷Mantan ¹⁸ins. druid.

163. ¹cheathra ²thaneadar Gaeidil co ³moirfesar amhus con mnai ⁴Oiei ⁊ Uiei ⁵Nenuail m. Nemain m. Allot m. Agnoimen ⁶Seitrig ⁷Duib ⁸Alloit m. Ogamain m. Beomain ⁹Mantan ¹⁰luingi .i. ¹¹Caithir m. Erchada

meic ¹²Caemtheachta meic ¹³Toitheachta meic ¹⁴Mandtain
meic Caichir drūadh ¹⁵qui ¹⁶fecit prophetiam, meic ¹⁷Ēbir
Eachrūaidh ¹⁸meic Thait meic ¹⁹Ogamoin.

164. Trī catha imorro ro ¹brisidar iar ndul ²an
Easpāin, ³i. cath for ⁴Toiseacha ⁊ cath for ⁵Longbarda
⁊ cath for ⁶Baceo. ⁷Tāinīg tām forro, ⁸con eibleidar
ceathrar ar ⁹fichit díbh im ¹⁰Oige ⁊ im ¹¹Uige, ¹²cona
térno ass na dá luīg acht dá cuigear im En mac Uige¹²
⁊ im Un mac ¹³Uige.

165. Bāi mac maith ¹ag Brath i. ²Breogan, ³ag a
ndernadh Tōr ⁴mBreogan ⁊ in chathair i. ⁵Brigandsia
⁶a hainm. A Tūr ⁷Breogain imorro adceas ⁸Ēriu ⁹i
feaseur ¹⁰geimrigh, ¹¹† i. ¹²oidheche samhna || adceadaire
Ith mac Breogain, amail ro chan Gilla Caeman in duan,¹²

Gāedel Glas ōtat Gāedil . . .

APPENDIX.

THE LIST OF LANGUAGES.

¹ L	F	B
Betín	Betín	Beithín
Seitín	Scetín	Seethín
Scill	Scill	Scill
Scartín	Scartín	Scairthín
Guth	Guth	Guth

¹² -thechta	¹³ -thechta	¹⁴ Mantain m. Cathair	¹⁵ om. qui
¹⁶ fecit prophetsiam	¹⁷ Emir Echruaid	¹⁸ om. m. Tait	¹⁹ -main.
164. ¹ brisedar	² in	³ om. i. ⁴ Bacru	⁵ Toisechu
⁶ Longbardu	⁷ co tanic	⁸ conebladar	⁹ fichit
¹⁰ Oiei	¹¹ Uiei	¹²⁻¹³ om.	¹⁴ Uiei.

¹ Words and letters in this column contained in brackets are now lost from the MS., but restored from O'Curry's transcript.

Ereha s. Coemthecht s. Soithecht (*sic lege*) s. Mantan
s. Caicher the druid *qui fecit prophetiam* s. Eber Echruad
s. Tat s. Ogamain.

164. They broke three battles after going into Spain :
a battle against the Tuscans, a battle against the
Langobardi, and a battle against the Barchu. There
came a plague upon them, so that four and twenty of
their number died, including Oece and Ucee. Out of
the two ships none escaped, save twice five men,
including En s. Oece (*sic lege*) and Un s. Ucee.

165. Brath had a good son named Breogan, by whom
was built the Tower of Breogan and the city which is
called Braganza. From Breogan's Tower was Ireland
seen on a winter evening, to wit, on Samain evening.
Ith s. Breogan saw it, as Gilla Coeman sang the song,

Poem no. XIII.

M	H
Beithín	Beithín
Seithín	Sgeithín
Scill	Sgill
Scartain	Sgarthain
Guth	Guth

		<i>Bithynian²</i>
		<i>Scythian</i>
		<i>Cilician</i>
		<i>Hyrcanian</i>
		<i>Gothic</i>

165. ¹oc ²Breogu ³oc a ndearnad ⁴mBreognind ⁵g ins. sec.
man. B: Briainsia M ⁶ainm na cathrach ⁷Breognind ⁸Erind
⁹om. i ¹⁰gemrid ¹¹aidchi Samna adchennaire ¹²ins. -sa, ca derbad.

² On the translations suggested in this column, see the notes (below, p. 148 ff.).

L	F	B
G(r)éic	Greig	Greig
G(erman)	German	Gearmain
G(aill)	Gaill	Gaill
(Poimp)	Poimp	Poimp
(Frigia)	Frigia	Frigia
(Caispia)	Caspa	Caispia
Dardain	Dardan	Dardain ³
Pampil	Pampil	Poimpil
Morind	Morand	Morand ⁴
Liguirn	Ligirn	Lígearnd ⁵
Oatri	Daithri	Daithri
Creit	Cret ⁶	Creid
Corsic	Coirsic	Coirsicc
(S)ieil	Sieil	Sieicill
(Reid)	Reit	Reit
(Sardain)	Sardan	Sardan
(Magidon)	Macindon	Maighidonia
Tesail	Tensail	T'escal
Armein	Armein	Airmeint ⁷
Dalmait	Dalmait	Dalmain ⁸
Romain	Romain	Romain
Rugind	Rugind	Ruiceind
Moisig	Mosic	Moissice
Arboi	Arboin	Arbboin
(Hisbain)	Hispan	Hispain
(Gairit)	Gairit	Gairitt
(Huín[us]ind)	Huínusind	Huínusind

³ Might possibly (but not probably) be *Dardania*.⁴ A large dot (accidental) over the *d*.⁵ A small dot, also accidental, over the *g*.

M	H	
Greig	Greig	<i>Greek</i>
Germain	Germain	<i>Germanic</i>
Gaill	Gaill	<i>Gaulish</i>
Poimp	Poimp	<i>Pentapolitan</i>
Frigia	Frigia	<i>Phrygian</i>
Caispia	Caispia	<i>Cappadocian</i>
Dardain	Dardain	<i>Dardanian</i>
Poimpil	Poimpil	<i>Pamphylian</i>
Morand	Morund	<i>Mauretanian</i>
Ligern	Ligern	<i>Lycaonian</i>
Daithri	Daithri	?
Creit	Creid	<i>Cretan</i>
Coirsic	Coirsig	<i>Corsican</i>
Sieil	Sieil	<i>Sicilian</i>
Reid	Reid	<i>Raetian</i>
Sardain	Sardain	<i>Sardinian</i>
Magidon	Maigidoín	<i>Macedonian</i>
Teasal	Tesail	<i>Thessalian</i>
Mairnen	Mairmein	<i>Armenian</i>
Dalmain	Dalmain	<i>Dalmatian</i>
Romain	Romain	<i>Roman(?)</i>
Ruicend	Ruicend	<i>Rheginian</i>
Moisiuc	Maisiuc	?
Arboin	Arbain	<i>Narbonian</i>
Hisbain	Espain	<i>Hispanic</i>
Gairit	Gairit	<i>Galatian</i>
Huínusind	Huínusind	<i>Phoenician</i>

⁶ Written *Cret*.⁷ Or perhaps *Airmeint*.⁸ Changed from *Dalmain*.

L	F	B
(Saraic)	Saraic	Saraicc
. . . ¹¹	Broes	Broess
. . .	Brit	Britt
Oric	Horcri ⁹	Horcri
Burgan	Burgan	Burgan
Belgaig	Belgal	Bealgal
Mugaig	Mucaig	Muccaigh
Boét	Boet	Boet
India	India	Induia
Pardae	Partia	Partia ¹⁰
Callie	Callia	Caillia
Siria	Siriat	Siriat
(Aidin)	. . .	. . .
. . .	Galliat	. . .
. . .	Acait	. . .
Atheni	Atini	Aitini
Albain	Albain	Albain
Saxus	Saxus	Saxus
Ebre	Ebreus	Ebrus
Ardain	Ardan	Ardan
Moysi	Moisi	Moysi
Traciae	Tracia	Traigia
Edis	Edis	Edis
Uesogiam	Uesogum	Ulsogum
Tripolita	Tripolita	Tripolita
Zeugis	Renigis	Remighis
Numa	Munausa ¹⁴	Munausa

⁹ Written Horci.¹⁰ Or perhaps *Pardia*.

M	H	
Saraic	Saraicc	<i>Saracenic</i>
Breois	Breós	<i>Rhodian</i>
Brit	Brit	<i>British</i>
Horcid	Horebind	<i>Illyrican(?)</i>
Brugan	Brugán	<i>Burgundian</i>
Belgal	Belgal	<i>Belgian</i>
Mucaid	Muccaid	<i>Mygdonian(?)</i>
Beot	Beót	<i>Boeotian</i>
India	India	<i>Indian</i>
Partia	Pairtia	<i>Parthian</i>
Caillia	Caillia	<i>Carian(?)</i>
Siriath	Siriath	<i>Syrian</i>
. . .	. . .	<i>Alanian</i>
. . .	. . .	<i>Galatian</i>
. . .	. . .	<i>Achaean</i>
Aitim	Aitine	<i>Athenian</i>
Albain	Albain	<i>Albanian</i>
Saxus	Saxus	<i>Saxon</i>
Ebreus	Ebreus	<i>Hebrew</i>
Ardan	Ardan	<i>Arcadian</i>
Moisice	. . .	<i>Moesian</i>
Tragia	Tragia	<i>Thracian</i>
Eidis	Eidist	<i>Hellenic(?)</i> ¹⁵
Ulsogum	Ulsogum	<i>Pelasgian</i>
Tripolitia	Tripolia	<i>Tripolitan</i>
Remigis	Remigis	<i>Zeugian</i>
Munchusa	Munchusu	<i>Numidian</i>

¹¹ These dots represent *omissions*, not lacunae due to injury of the MS.¹⁴ Written Munaça.¹⁵ Or perhaps Edessian.

L	F	B
Murit	Muirid	. . .
Hicail	Hicail ¹²	Iccail
Gaedilg	Gaedelg	Gaedhealg
.
Media	Meidia	Meidia
Foirni	Foirne	Foirni
Grinni	Grinde	Grinni
Franc	Franc	Frangc
Fresin	Freise	Freissi
Longbard	Longbhaird	Longbaird
Lacedemo[in]	Bacidlhoín	Baiceidoni
Troiana	Tronna	Toronda
Colehia	Colacha	Colacha
Caspia	Caspia	Caspia
Aegipt ¹⁶	Eigipt	Eigeipt
Aethioip ¹⁶	Ethob	Ethiop
.
.
.

¹² Written Hicail.¹³ The first a of this version has obviously arisen from a ce in the exemplar which was not clear to the scribe.¹⁶ To make the tables uniform these two names are printed in the order followed by L, but in all the other MSS. the second name comes first.

M	H	
. . .	. . .	<i>Mauretanian</i>
Iaail ¹³	Iaail ¹³	<i>Italian</i>
Gaeidelg	Gaedelg	<i>Gaelic</i>
. . .	Moisice	<i>Moesian</i>
Meidia	Media	<i>Median</i>
Forne	Foirne	<i>Persian</i>
Graidni	Grandi	<i>Cyrenean(?)</i>
Frangc	Fränge	<i>Frankish</i>
Fresi	Freisi	<i>Frisian</i>
Longbard	Longbaird	<i>Lombardic</i>
Baiceidoin	Baiceidoin	<i>Lacedemonian</i>
Tronna	Tronda	<i>Trojan</i>
Colacha	Colaeha	<i>Cycladic</i>
Caspia	Caspia	<i>Caspian</i>
Eigeift	Eigipt	<i>Egyptian</i>
Eitheoip	Eitheóip	<i>Aethiopian</i>
Asdia ¹⁷	Aissdia ¹⁷	. . .
Cuimniu	Cuimniu	. . .
Gudsain	Gudsain	. . .

¹⁷ The names must have been in a columnar arrangement in \sqrt{HMB} , and the words as *dia cuimniugud-sain* "to memorize that" must have been divided into three more or less equal parts to fill up three blank lines in the last column. It was natural for the unintelligent scribe of ωH to fall into the trap and to take these *uoces nihili* for the last three names in the list: but that αM did so likewise suggests that the mistake already existed in \sqrt{HMB} . It is possible that for once the narrow columns of \sqrt{B} , compelling a redistribution of the names, enabled βB to restore the correct reading.

THE VERSE TEXTS OF SECTION II.

X.

R¹ ¶ 106 (L 1 γ 37: F 2 α 22). R³ ¶ 140 (B 10 α 12:
M 268 β 47: H 100 β 5).

¹Fēne ²Fheinius ³asbertar — 305
⁴brig ⁵can ⁶dohta:
⁷Gāedil ⁸Gāediul Glas ⁹garta,
¹⁰Scuit ¹¹Scota.

¹ Féni LFM Feine B ² Fenius L Hinius F Fheinias B Phenius MH
³ asberta F adbertha B adberta MH ⁴ brig B ⁵ cen L gan B
⁶ dohta L (dohta in O'Curry's transcript, but though there appears to be
a mark over the e in the original, it does not resemble the usual lenition-
mark; not in facsimile): lohta H ⁷ Gaedil (or perhaps Gao- with o

XI.

R¹ and Min ¶ 107 (L 1 δ 8: F 2 β 13: μΛ 26 α 18:
μR 91 γ 5). R³ ¶ 142 (B 10 α 37: M 268 δ 1: H 100 β 22).

1. ¹Bērla ²in ³domain, ⁴dēchaid ⁵lib,
⁶Bethin, ⁷Scithin, Scill, ⁸Scartain, 310
⁹Guth, ¹⁰Grēc, ¹¹Germāin, Gaill co ngrāin,¹¹
¹²Paimp, ¹³Frigia, ¹⁴Dalmait, ¹⁵Dardāin.
2. ¹Poimpil, ²Morind, ³Ligairn lir,
⁴Oatre, ⁵Creit, ⁶Corsic, ⁷Cipir, 315
⁸Tessail, ⁹Caspia, ¹⁰Armēin ¹¹āin,
¹²Reit, ¹³Siail, ¹⁴Saraic, ¹⁵Sardāin.

1. ¹berlai B ²an H ³domun B domuin H ⁴decid L dechaidh μΛ B
deethar MH ⁵libh μΛ B ⁶Beitin F Beithin R² ⁷Scethin FMH
Scethin μRB ⁸Scartin F Scarthain μRMH Scartin (a very small dot,
not a lenition mark, over the t) μΛ ⁹Guith L Goith μΛμR om. L ¹⁰Greice
μΛ Greig B Greg MH ¹¹⁻¹²Gall (Goill μR) Germain co ngrain μΛμR: om. B
¹²Poimp LFMH om. B ¹³Prigia H ¹⁴Dalmaith FB Dalmaid MH
¹⁵Dardan FH.

THE VERSE TEXTS OF SECTION II.

X.

Feni are named from Feinius —
a meaning without secretiveness:
Gaedil from comely Gaedel Glas,
Scots from Scota.

*inserted above the line: lenition-mark over d sec. man.: two dots side by
side beneath d, and an i beneath them F Gaedheil B Gaed- MH) ⁸Gaedil
F Gaedhel B Gaedil M ⁹gartha B ¹⁰Scuit L Sguit B ¹¹Scota changed
to Scoto by re-inker L.*

XI.

1. The languages of the world, see for yourselves—
Bithynia, Scythia, Cilicia, Hyrcania,
Gothia, Graecia, Germania, Gallia with horror,
Pentapolis, Phrygia, Dalmatia, Dardania.
2. Pamphylia, Mauretania, populous Lyeaonia,
Bactria, Creta, Corsica, Cyprus,
Thessalia, Cappadocia, noble Armenia,
Raetia, Sicilia, Saracen-land, Sardinia.

2. ¹Poim L Pampil F Paimpil μΛμR ²Morann F Morinn μR Morand
BM Morund H ³Ligairn L μΛμR Ligairn F Ligerun B Ligarn MH
⁴Oitri F Ogu (sic) μΛμR Daithri BM Daitri H ⁵Creid FMH ⁶Coirsic
FμRMH Coir B ⁷Cibir F Siail MH ⁸Tessail μΛμRII Teasail BHM
⁹Caspia H ¹⁰Armen FμR Airmen MH ¹¹am B ¹²Reic F Reicc B
Ree M Reig H ¹³Sicill B Sirie H ¹⁴Sarait μΛμR Sairic H ¹⁵Sardan F.

3. ¹Belgaig, ²Boet, ³Bretnais, ⁴Brões ⁵bind,
⁶Hispania, ⁷Romāin, ⁸Rugind,
⁹Humind, ¹⁰India, ¹¹Araib òir,
¹²Mucaig, ¹³Maisie, ¹⁴Maicidōin. 320
4. ¹Parthia, ²Callia, Siria, ³Sax,
⁴Athin, ⁵Achait, ⁶Albanas,
⁷Ebra, Ardain, ⁸Galait ⁹glain,
¹⁰Troia, ¹¹Tesalia, ¹²Colaig.
5. ¹Maisi, ²Media, ³Foirni, ⁴Franc,
⁵Grinni, ⁶Laedemōin, ⁷Longbard,
⁸Tracia, ⁹Numeid, Edis — ¹⁰ēist!
¹¹Ecail ard, ¹²Ethioip, Ēgipt.¹² 325
6. ¹Ac sin līn ²mbērla ³een ⁴meirg
⁵as ro ⁶theip ⁷Gaedel ⁸Gaedeilg:
⁹aichnid ¹⁰dam ¹¹a reīm ērgna,
¹²na ¹³haicmi, na ¹⁴hil-bērla. 330

3. ¹Bergaig L Belgait $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu R$ Belgail BM Bealgail II ²Baeth FR²
³Britain F $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu R$ om. B Breatnais M Bretains H ⁴Bras FM om. $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu R$
Brass B Bres H ⁵binn μR ⁶no Umania ins. above line in bad hand
F: Asbain F, Espania μ_{Λ} Baraes, Hespain μR Easpain BM Espain H
⁷Rō in text, and ain ins. above line in same hand as previous insertion F
⁸ins. is R³: Ruigind F Ruicind BM Rucind H ⁹Huminn μR Um B Umain
M Umain H ¹⁰Indiē L Innia μR ¹¹Araig, with no b written above the
g in the same bad hand F Araip μ_{Λ} Aragh B Aroie H ¹²Magoich μ_{Λ}
Magoic μR Muccaidh B Muccaid H ¹³Masic L Moisc FB Moesc μ_{Λ}
Maisie μR Maisich M Maissich H ¹⁴Magdoin O'Curry's transcript,
wrongly, Macidain L Macedoin $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu R$ Nagidoin B Maigidoin MH.

4. ¹Partia FB Pairtia MH ²om. L Calldia μR Caillia R³ ⁴Saxus L
Sachs F Saxs μR Saxx B ⁵Atin F Sachain μ_{Λ} Achain μR Aitin R³
⁶Acait FB Accait MH ⁷Albain eais L Albanas F Albancass μ_{Λ}
Albanachas μR Albanchass BH Albanchus M ⁸Abra F Eabra BM
⁹Galiath FM Gaillia H ¹⁰glan preceded by a dot of punctuation L gloin
FM ¹¹T³ria glossed, apparently in the same bad hand as before, no
Toria (but reading doubtful) F Troighia B Toirria MH ¹²Teassalia B
Tesailia μ_{Λ} H ¹³Colaich $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu R$ Colaigh B Colaig MH.

5. ¹Moyai L Moissia μ_{Λ} Moessia μR ²Meidia F Meidi M Maidia H
³Farni L Forne F Fairne $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu R$ Forni H ⁴Graing L Fraine $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu R$

3. Belgia, Boeotia, Britannia, tuneful Rhodes,
Hispania, Roma,^(a) Rhegini,
Phoenicia, India, golden Arabia^(b),
Mygdonia, Mazaea, Macedonia.
4. Parthia, Caria, Syria, Saxones,
Athenae, Achaia, Albania,
Hebraei, Arcadia, clear Galatia,
Troas, Thessalia, Cyclades.
5. Moesia, Media, Persida, Franci,
Cyrene, Laeadaemonia, Langobardi,
Thracia, Numidia, Hellas (?) — hear it!
Lofty Italia, Ethiopia, Egypt.
6. That is the tally of languages without tarnish
out of which Gaedel cut Gaedelic:
known to me is their roll of understanding,
the groups, the manifold languages.

Frainge R³ ⁵Grindi FBH Grinne $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu R$ Graindi H ⁶glossed no
Dinsicon (?) in late sec. man. hardly legible L; Laicidon glossed no dimhon
in the same bad hand as before F; Laicidemoin $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu R$ Laicidimon B Laicidoin
M Laigidoin H ⁷Longbardd L Longbaird F $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu R$ BBH ⁸Traieia F Traigia
B Traigia MH ⁹Numiath Edist Esc Icail ard F Numia Eisil Eire
Irechain ard μ_{Λ} Anum Achaid Eisil Eire Hircain aird μR Nuimmiath Eidist
Esc Eacail Ard B Numia Eigest (-ist H) Est Ecail ard MH ¹⁰om. L
¹¹Escail aird L ¹²⁻¹³Etheoib Egeft F Etheop Eigipt μ_{Λ} Etheop Eigipt μR
Etheop Eigibht B ocus Eigipt (-eipt H) MH.

6. ¹a se in L (the dot om. O'Curry's transcript but clear in MS.) ac
sain F μ_{Λ} ahain μR ag sin BH ²berla L berlad F mberladh B ³can
FMH gan B ⁴merg μ_{Λ} M ⁵as ar FR³ asso μ_{Λ} ⁶teih F teip μR
theib BM ⁷Gaedil F Goedel $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu R$ Gaedhel B Gaedil M ⁸Gaedilg L
Gaedelg F Gaidilg μ_{Λ} Gaidile μR nGaedeilg M Gaedeilg H
⁹aichnidh $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu R$ aithni BH aithnid M ¹⁰do L $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu R$ damh B dan M
¹¹ar a ērgna L (second a om. O'Curry, wrongly) a rem ergna FM ar a
nergna $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu R$ a reim argna B ¹²an μR om. H ¹³haicme L n-aicmi F
haime μ_{Λ} aicme μR na naicmed BM aicmedha H ¹⁴nil-berla F μR MH
n-in berla B.

(a) Or Pannonia: see p. 151, no. 26.

(b) Or Narbona: see *ibid.* no. 29.

XII.

R¹ ¶ 107 (L *om.*: F 2 γ 8). R² ¶ 125 (V 2 γ 18). R³ ¶ 150
(B 10 δ 13: M 269 γ 31).

¹Cethracha γ ²cethri ³cēt
⁴do bliadnaib—nī ⁵himarbrēce—
⁶do ⁷doluid ⁸tūath Dē, ⁹derb ¹⁰lib 335
tar ¹¹muineind Mara ¹²Remair,
¹³co ngabsat ¹⁴Seōin don muir ¹⁵meun
Meic ¹⁶Milidh ¹⁷i tīr ¹⁸Ērenn.

¹cetracha FV ceatracha B ceathracha M ²ceitri F ceathra M ³chet M
⁴do bliā F da VM ⁵himarbrēg FB himarbrēg V himirbrēg M ⁶doluid M
⁷Tuatha B ⁸dearb BH ⁹diub (*sic*) V lib B ¹⁰muinein F muineand M

XIII.

R¹ and Min ¶ 117 (L 2 β 10: F 3 β 14: μV [V³] 1 α 1^(b):
μΛ 26 δ 24: μR 92 δ 3, *first quatrain only*). R² ¶ 165
(B 11 δ 15: M 271 α 30).

1. ¹Gāedel ²Glas ³ōtat ⁴Gāedil,
mac-⁵side ⁶Niūil ⁷nert-māinīg: 340
⁸ro bo ⁹thrēn ¹⁰tīar γ ¹¹tair,
Nēl mac ¹²Feiniusa ¹³Farrsaid.
2. Dā mac ¹ac ²Fēmius, fīr ³dam,
⁴Nēl ār n-athair ⁵is ⁶Noenal,
⁷rucad ⁸Nēl ⁹ocon ¹⁰Tūr ¹¹tair, 345
¹²Noenal ¹³con ¹⁴Scithia scīath-¹⁵glain.
3. ¹Tar ēis ²Feiniusa in lāich līr
³imtnūth ⁴tīr na ⁵brāithrib:
⁶do marb Nēl ⁷Nennal nar mīn;
⁸do ⁹hindarbad in ¹⁰t-ard-rīg. 350

1. ¹Gaedil F Goedel μΛ Gaidel μR Gaeideal M ²Glass LF μΛ
³ōtat F μΛ M otaid B ⁴Goidil μΛ Gaidil μR Gaeidhil B Gacidil M
⁵sidein F μΛ sidhein B sidein M ⁶Niul F ⁷-maenaig F -maidmig μΛ
mainigh μR neart-main(i)g B -mainich M ⁸do and om. bo F ro ba μR
⁹tren F μΛ RB ¹⁰tair F tīar B siar M ¹¹tīar B soir M ¹²Fēniusa
L Fēu; F Feiniusa μΛ μRM Feināsa B ¹³Farsaid L μR Farsaig μΛ Farsaigh
B Farrsaich M.

2. ¹ic LF ag B ²Fēinus L μΛ M Fenu; F Feinias B ³- mark of 'm'
yepμΛ: damh B ⁴Nell ar naitair F: Nell also B ⁵γ L ⁶sic L μΛ
Naennel F Naineal B Noendel M ⁷rucad μΛ rugadh B ructha M ⁸Nell F

XII.

Forty and four hundred
of years—it is no falsehood—
from when the people of God^(a) came, be ye certain
over the surface of *Mare Rubrum*,
till they landed in Scene from the clear sea,
they, the Sons of Mil, in the land of Ireland.

¹romuir VB ¹²this couplet om. M: corgabsat FV gur gabsat B
¹³Scen V ¹⁴mend V meand B ¹⁵Milidh F Mileadh B ¹⁶hi V a B
¹⁷nĒrenn VB

XIII.

1. Gaedel Glas, of whom are the Gaedil,
son was he of Nel, with store of wealth:
he was mighty west and east,
Nel, son of Feinius Farsaid.
2. Feinius had two sons—I speak truth—
Nel our father and Nennal.
Nel was born at the Tower in the east,
Nennal in Seythia, bright as a shield.
3. After Feinius, the hero of ocean,
there was great envy between the brethren:
Nel slew Nennal, who was not gentle;
the High King was expelled.

¹ic a F hicon μΛ agon B acon M ¹⁰thair μΛ tsair B toir M ¹¹Noinel L
Nennal FM Neannal B ¹²sa BM ¹³Sgeithia B Sceithia M ¹⁴gloin BM.

3. ¹om. this and the next three quatrains L; they have apparently been
written in, sec. man., in the lower marg., but the writing is now nearly all
torn away, and what is left is hopelessly illegible: dar es F taireis B
²Fenu; a F Fheniusa μΛ M Fheniassa B ³-thnuth B -thnūd M
⁴etir μΛ ⁵brathrib F braitribh B: brāithrib yepμΛ ⁶do mbarb F cor
marb μΛ M gur marbh B ⁷Nennal F Ninnal μΛ ⁸cor μΛ gur B ro M
⁹indarb B ¹⁰taird- μΛ M tarrd-rīg B.

(a) The Israelites, not the Tuatha Dē Danann.
(b) Beginning at quatrain 14.

4. Do-'chunaid 'san 'Eigipt 'trē gail
'eo riacht 'Forand fortamail;
'eo tue 'Scota, 'een 'seōim 'ngaind,
'ingen 'Tial gasta 'Foraind.
5. 'Rue Scota mac do 'Nēl nār,
ōr 'gein mōr-'eined 'comlān:
'Gāedel Glas 'ainm in 'fir—
'fa 'glas a 'airm 'sa 'eidig. 355
6. Dō 'ba mac 'Esrū 'anghaid,
'ro bo trīath 'eo 'trom-'armaib:
mac d 'Esrū, Srū na 'slūag 'sen,
dar dūal 'each clū 'dar cuired. 360
7. Srū mac 'Esrū meic 'Gāedil
ār 'sen-athair 'slūag-fāelid,
is ē 'luid 'bo 'thūaid 'dia thaig,
'dar ucht Mara 'rūaid Romair. 365
8. Lucht 'cethri long 'līn a slūaig
'for fūt Mara 'Romair 'rūaid:
'i n-a 'clār-adba, 'is cet,
'cethri lānamna 'fichet. 370
9. Flaith na 'Seithia, 'ba 'gnīm 'glan,
in gilla 'darb ainm 'Nenuāl,
is 'and 'atbath 'tall 'na 'thig—
'in tan 'rāncadar 'Gāedil.

4. 'chuidh μ_A cuaidh B 'an μ_A 'Eigipt F Eigipt M 'tre aīl F
trīa goil μ_A iarsin M 'gur rucht B 'Forann FM Forand μ_A 'go
tug B 'Scotta μ_A 'can F gan BM 'cheib F' scem μ_A M 'ngenn F
'ingin F ingean B 'fial F μ_A 'Forain F Foraind M.

5. 'rug B 'Nell F 'gen F chin M 'cinid F cineadh B cinead M
'comslan B 'Gaedil F Gaidil μ_A Gaedil M 'ins. a F μ_A 'fir BM
'ba μ_A 'glass μ_A 'arm F 'edid F eitig μ_A eidigh B eidich M.

6. 'fa μ_A M 'Easru BM 'baidh μ_A B 'do FB 'eu B
'tren M 'armarbaibh B 'Easru BM 'sluagh μ_A 'sel μ_A nglan B
'gach B 'dar cuirid F re cuired μ_A nar coilleadh B rer curead M.

7. 'Easru BM 'Gaidil μ_A Gaedhil B Gaedil M 'sean- μ_A M 'sluagh-
fāilig μ_A -fāiligh B -fāelaig M: fāilid in O'Curry's transcript of L,
wrongly 'luidh μ_A B luig B 'fo L μ_A M bho B 'thuaidh μ_A thuigh BM

4. He went into Egypt through valour
till he reached powerful Pharaoh:
till he bestowed Scota, of no scanty beauty,
the modest, nimble daughter of Pharaoh.
5. Scota bore a son to noble Nel,
from whom was born a perfect great race:
Gaedel Glas was the name of the man—
green were his arms and his vesture.
6. Fierce Esru was son to him,
who was a lord with heavy arms:
the son of Esru, Sru of the ancient hosts,
to whom was meet all the fame attributed to him.
7. Sru son of Esru son of Gaedel,
our ancestor, rejoicing in troops,
he it is who went northward to his house,
over the surface of the red *Mare Rubrum*.
8. The crews of four ships were the tale of his host
along the red *Mare Rubrum*:
in his house of planks, we may say,
twenty-four wedded couples.
9. The prince of Scythia, it was a clear fact,
the youth whose name was Nenuāl,
it is then he died yonder in his house—
when the Gaedil arrived.

'the words dia thaig ar fud written in rasura in a late bad hand F: dia
taig μ_A da thoigh B dia tig M 'ar ut μ_A M ar fud FB 'Ruad F
Ruaidh BM romur F romoir B.

8. 'ceitri FB ceithra M 'līn badly written in a blank space which
has contained two erased words F 'for fut L ar fud F arut μ_A arud B
ar fut M 'romuir B 'Ruaidh B 'ins. tall L: batar gach claradba μ_A :
in each FM in gach B 'clair L ellar, the first l stroked through F
'fa cert F ba ceart B fa cet M 'ceit (om. -ri) F .iiii. apparently mis-
written in B ceithri M 'fichead B fiched M.

9. 'Sceithia FBM 'bo F fa BM 'gairm F μ_A BM 'sluag F
sluagh B sluag M 'diarbo L 'Noenal L μ_A Nenuāl F Nenuāl B
'e F ann μ_A M 'adbach FBM 'thall μ_A BM 'ca L ga μ_A 'thaig
L μ_A tig F thigh B 'om. in L 'tancatar F μ_A M tangadar B
'ins. na B: Gaidil μ_A Gaedhil B Gaedil M.

10. ¹Gabais ²Èber ³Scot na scāl 375
⁴òs ⁵chlaind ⁶Nenuail ⁷eo ⁸nef-nār,
⁹eo torehair, ¹⁰can ¹¹cāinius ¹²caín,
¹³la Noemius mac ¹⁴Nenuail.
11. ¹Nertmar mac ²Èbir ³iartain, 380
⁴diarbo ainm ⁵becht-glan ⁶Boamain,
⁷eo tráig Mara Caisp ⁸ba ⁹rī,
¹⁰eo torehair do lāim ¹¹Noemī.
12. ¹Noimius ²mac ³Noenil ⁴ind ⁵nirt 385
⁶rogab in ⁷Scithia sciath-⁸brice;
⁹do-¹⁰cher in flaith comlán cain
¹¹la ¹²Hogman mac ¹³mBoamain.
13. ¹Ogamain ²iarsain ³ba flaith 390
⁴dar ⁵ēis ⁶Noemiusa ⁷nert-maith:
⁸conerbailt na ⁹chrích, ¹⁰cen ¹¹chill:
¹²dar a ¹³ēis ¹⁴ba rī ¹⁵Refill.
14. Dorochair^(a) ¹Refill iartain
²do lāim ³Thait ⁴meic ⁵Ogamain:
⁶dorochair ⁷Tait ⁸cen cor ⁹thim
¹⁰lāim ¹¹Refloir meic ¹²Refill.

10. ¹gabhais B ²Scott μ_A ³cl- μ_A chloind B cloind M ⁴Noenil
 $L\mu_A$ Neannuil B Nenuaill M ⁵go B ⁶nert-blad F nemnar μ_A neartmar
B nertmar M ⁷gundorehair B ⁸cen μ_A gach B ⁹chanius L chainu;
F chainius μ_A cainias B chaineas M ¹⁰cruaid FM cruaidh B ¹¹la lann
Ain; F lasienoenius μ_A la laind ainias B la Noenes la mac M ¹²Noenil L
Nainil μ_A Neanusail B.

11. ¹-mar om. and ins. in a bad sec. man. F: neartmar BM ²iarsin F
³darb FM diarb μ_A B ⁴brechtgal L beachtglan B breathglan M
⁵Beomain L Boamin F Beoamain μ_A M Beamoin B ⁶gu traigh B
⁷fa FM ⁸righ B ⁹condoreair B ¹⁰Nemin (with Neiné written in bad
hand in marg.) F Noemii μ_A Neimni B Nemi M.

12. ¹Nemu; F Noenius μ_A Nenius B Neimius M ²mcc μ_A ³Nenuail
F Ninnuail μ_A Nenuall B Nenuaill M ⁴in F μ_A B i M ⁵nert M ⁶dogab
F roghabh B roghob M ⁷Sciathia F Sceithia BM ⁸-bric F μ_A B breic M

10. Eber Scot of the heroes assumed [the kingdom]
over the progeny of Nenual unashamed,
till he fell, with no gentle kindness,
at the hands of Noemius son of Nenual.
11. The strong son of Eber thereafter,
who had the name Boamain, of perfect purity,
to the shore of the Caspian Sea was he king,
till he fell by the hand of Noemius.
12. Noemius son of Nenual of the strength
settled in Scythia, chequered like a shield:
the perfect fair prince fell
by the hand of Ogamain son of Boamain.
13. Thereafter Ogamain was prince
after Noemius of good strength:
till he died in his territory, unhurched:
after him Refill was king.
14. Thereafter Refill fell
by the hand of Tait son of Ogamain:
Tait fell, though he was not feeble,
by the hand of Refloir son of Refill.

⁹cheir L cer F chear BM ¹⁰Ogmán L Hogaman the first a sprs. ye B
¹¹Beomain L mBeoamain μ_A Beoamain M mBeomain B.

13. ¹Ogmán LM (a small a apparently inserted above in L) Ogaman FB
²iarsin F μ_A BM ³ro bo laith M ⁴tar FM ⁵eisi L es μ_A ⁶Noemi L
(Noenil in O'Curry's transcript, wrongly) Nemu;a F Noeniusa μ_A
Neiniassa B Naeniasa M ⁷neart- BM ⁸conemait F connerb- μ_A
⁹chrine L crich other MSS. ¹⁰can F μ_A gan B ¹¹cill FB ¹²tar F μ_A BM
¹³es μ_A ¹⁴ba rig F bairi B fa rig M ¹⁵Rifill L μ_A M Rafill R Refill B.

14. ¹Raifill F Repill μ_A Reifill B Rifill M ²om. do lāim μ_A ³Tait F
Thaid B ⁴mcc μ_A ⁵Ogamain μ_V ⁶dorocair B ⁷Taid B ⁸gen gur B
⁹tim F ¹⁰laimh L ¹¹Raifloir F Refleoir B Raifroil M ¹²Raifill F
Refill μ_A Reifill B Rifill, an i after the f sbs. ye M

(a) Here μ_V begins.

15. ¹Refloir ²is ³Agnon ⁴cen ōn, 395
⁵secht ⁶mblidna ⁷bāi ⁸i n-imchosnom,
⁹co torchair ¹⁰Refloir ¹¹co n-glōr
¹²do ¹³lāim ¹⁴āitisig ¹⁵Agnoin.
16. ¹Noinel is ²Refill ³co rind, 400
⁴dā mac ⁵Refloir meie ⁶Refill.
⁷innarbsat ⁸Agnomain ⁹ass
¹⁰dar ¹¹in muir ¹²merda ¹³mōr-glass.
17. ¹Maithi na ²toisig, ³ba dia, 405
⁴tancadar ⁵asin ⁶Scithia;
⁷Agnomain, Eber ⁸cen ⁹ail,
¹⁰dā mac ¹¹Tait meie ¹²Ogamain.
18. ¹Elloth, ²Lāmfind ³lām-glas, léir, 410
⁴dā mac ⁵Agnomain ⁶imrēil,
⁷Caicher is Cing, elū ⁸co ⁹mbūaid,
¹⁰dā ¹¹deg-mae Eber ¹²ech-rūaid.
19. ¹Áirem a ²long, trí longa,
³ac ⁴tiachtain ⁵dar trom-⁶thonna;
⁷trí fichit ⁸each ⁹luing, ¹⁰lūad nglē,
¹¹ocus mnā ¹²each ¹³tres fiche.

15. ¹Refloir F Refloir μV Refleoir B Refleir M ²om. is LμVμ_Λ
³Agnō (read Agnomain) L Agnom μV Adnomain μ_Λ Aghnon B Adnon M
⁴can F gan B ⁵ins. re L: iiii incorrectly (though mistake pardonable)
in Facs. and in O'Curry's transcript for secht, also in μVμ_Λ ⁶m- in F only
⁷om. LμVμ_Λ ba F ⁸i cosnam L nimcosnam F an im-chosnam μV an
imcosnam μ_Λ nomh B an imchosnom M ⁹co torchair μV gundorchair B
do rochair M ¹⁰Refloir F Refloir μV Refleoir B Refloir M ¹¹ra gel L
conglor F na reb μVμ_Λ gu ngloir B ¹²la mac Tait la Agnomain LμVμ_Λ
(Hag- μVμ_Λ) ¹³laimh B ¹⁴atheasaigh B aitheasaig M ¹⁵Aghnoin B
Agnon M.

16. ¹Nenuaill F Noenua μVμ_Λ Neenuaill BM ²Raifill F Refloir μVμ_Λ
Refill B Rifill M ³gu B ⁴Refloir F Refloir μV Refloir B ⁵Refill F
Repill μ_Λ Rifill M ⁶ins. do F13 ro M: hindarbsad F indarbat μ_Λ
indarbsad BM ⁷Agnom μVμ_Λ Agnon FM Aghnon BM ⁸as FM ⁹tar
FBM ¹⁰an F ¹¹medrach μVμ_Λ meadrach B mearda M ¹²mor mas F
morglas μVμ_Λ morehass B.

17. ¹maithi L maithie μVμ_Λ ²taissig F toissi μV taisigh B taisich M
³bo F dar μVμ_Λ bu B fa M ⁴tancadar LFμVμ_Λ tangadar B ⁵assin

15. Refloir and Agnomain without blemish,
seven years were they in contention,
till Refloir fell with tumult
by the victorious hand of Agnomain.
16. Noinel and Refill with a [spear-]point
two sons of Refloir son of Refill,
they drove Agnomain out
over the raging sea, great and green.
17. Good were the chieftains, it was sufficient,
who came out of Seythia;
Agnomain, Eber without blemish,
the two sons of Tait son of Ogmain.
18. Allot, Lamfhind of the green hand, conspicuous,
the two sons of very bright Agnomain,
Caicher and Cing, fame with victory,
the two good sons of Eber of the red steed.
19. The number of their ships, three ships,
coming over heavy waves:
three score [the crew] of every ship, a clear saying,
and women every third score.

LμV asan F isa M ⁴Scithia FμVBM ⁷Agnon is FM Aghnoin mas
(a ye in marg.) is Eimir gan oil B ⁸can FμVM gan B ⁹oil M ¹⁰Thaitt
L Thaid B Thait M ¹¹Ogmain μVμ_Λ Agmain (the initial A changed
sec. man. to O) B.

18. ¹Elloth μVμ_Λ Elloth B Alloth M ²Lamfind hic et semper F
Lamfind also μVμ_Λ Laimfind B ³lam glass L lainglas B: laechda in
drem μVμ_Λ ⁴sic μVμ_Λ: tri meie other MSS. ⁵ins. d' μVμ_Λ:
Agnoin in fir eil F Agnoin in fir feil B ⁶imrel M imthenn μV
imthenn μ_Λ ⁷Caicher L Caicher F Caichear B Caichear M: Cenclú is
Caither μVμ_Λ (looks like Oenclú μV: Caicher μ_Λ) ⁸gu B ⁹mbuaidh F
buaidh μVμ_Λ ¹⁰deag- BM ¹¹eachruaid F eachluaidh μVμ_Λ each
luaidh (in marg. sec. man. no ruaidh) B.

19. ¹arim LF a rim μ_Λ airim FμV airimh B ²llong L ³ie L hic
μVμ_Λ ag B ⁴tidecht F ⁵sic L, tar other MSS. ⁶tonna F
thonda μVB thona μ_Λ ⁷gach B ⁸luingi FM luinge B ⁹ale F
alle B ille M: luadh ngle μVμ_Λ ¹⁰in μVμ_Λ gach B ¹¹tress
μV treas B threas M.

20. ¹Atbath ²Agnon, nīr bo aise, 415
³i n-insib Mara mōr-⁴Chaisp:
⁵baile ⁶i mbatar ⁷re bliadain
⁸fuaradar ⁹ro-¹⁰diamair.
21. ¹Rāncadar Muir ²Libis ³lān 420
⁴seolad sē ⁵sām-lāithe slān,
⁶Glas mae ⁷Agnōin, nīr bo ⁸dis
⁹ann ¹⁰atbath i ¹¹Coronis.
22. ¹Cain inis fuaradar ²and 425
³For Muir Libis na lāech-⁴land:
⁵rāithi for bliadain, ⁶co ⁷mbloid,
a n-⁸aittreb ⁹sin ¹⁰indsi ¹¹soin.
23. ¹Seolaid for ²muir, ³monar nglē, 430
⁴etir ⁵lāithi ⁶aidhe:
⁷taitnem ⁸lām ⁹Lāmfind ¹⁰laindrig
¹¹ba ¹²cosmail ¹³re ¹⁴cāem-ehaindlib.
24. ¹Ceithre ²tōisig ³dōib nīr ⁴dis,
⁵iar tiachtain ⁶dar Muir ⁷Libis;
⁸Elloth, ⁹Lāmfind lūath ¹⁰dar ¹¹ler,
¹²Cing is a ¹³brāthair ¹⁴Caicher.

20. ¹athbath F ²Agnomain een aise $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$ ³an insib F in
innsib μV ind n-insib μ_{Λ} an indsi BM ⁴Caisp F μVBM ⁵bale L
baili F ⁶amamar F imbadar B a mbadar M ⁷re bliadain om. F ri $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$
ins. i F ⁸hi $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$ a M: fuaratar I $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$ fuaridar M ⁹ins. and B
¹⁰dimar F chiamair B.

21. ¹ramcator LF $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$ rangadar B ²Libis L $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$ ³lain F
⁴seoladh B ⁵samlaithe FM samhlaithe (the dotted - for mh yc) B.
O'Curry has taken this quatrain, which is much rubbed in L, from another
MS.; his lines do not correspond with the lines from L, as they should in
a line for line transcript, and he reads laithi, whereas laithe is the clearest
word in L ⁶Glass μ_{Λ} ⁷Aghnoin F Agnon M ⁸this B ⁹om. ann
LBM: and μV ¹⁰adbath LBM ¹¹Caroinis L Caronais F Acaraonis B a
Caraoinis M.

22. ¹fuaratar L $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$ fuaramar F fuaridar M ²ann F ³ar F
⁴lann F μVM om. μ_{Λ} ⁵rathi L raithe $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$ raite B ⁶gu B ⁷mbalaid LF

20. Agnomain died, it was no reproach
in the islands of the great Caspian Sea.
The place where they were for a year
they found very secret.
21. They reached the full Libyan Sea,
a sailing of six complete summer days:
Glas son of Agnomain, who was not despicable,
died there in Cereina.
22. A fair island found they there
on the Libyan Sea of warrior-blades:
a season over a year, with fame,
their sojourn in that island.
23. They sail on the sea, a brilliant fact
both by day and by night:
the sheen of the hands of lustrous Lamfhind
was like to fair candles.
24. Four chieftains had they who were not despicable,
after coming over the Libyan Sea;
Allot, Lamfhind swift over the ocean,
Cing and his brother Caicher.

mbalaidh $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$ mbloidh B ⁸aitrib F anaitrebh μ_{Λ} aitreab B aitreab M
⁹san FBM sind μV ¹⁰n-indsi LM innsi μV ¹¹sin LF $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}M$.

23. ¹sic sec. man.: seolat prim. man.: L seolait $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$ seolaigh B
²mar M ³monor L monur μV comhall B ur (om. mon-) M ⁴idir F
itir M ⁵laith F laithe $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}B$ laithi M ⁶oidheche B ⁷taitnim F
taittnemh μ_{Λ} taitneamh B ⁸lām $\mu_{\Lambda}B$ ⁹Lamind L Lamfind
F μ_{Λ} Laimfind μVB ¹⁰laenrig F laindrig μV laindraig μ_{Λ} londraigh B
lonnraid M ¹¹fa FM ¹²casmail BM ¹³fri L ¹⁴coemel- sprs. yc μ_{Λ} :
coem- also μV ; chaennlib F choindlib μVM caindlib B.

24. ¹This and the next quatrain written by s²M: cethri L ceitri F $\mu_{\Lambda}BM$
ceithri μV ²taisig FM toisich μV toisich μ_{Λ} taisigh B ³doibh $\mu_{\Lambda}B$
⁴diss $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$ dhis B ⁵ae riachtain F arrechtain B ac tiachtain M ⁶ar FB
do $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$ ⁷Libhis B ⁸Eloit μV Elliot μ_{Λ} Alloth BM ⁹Lāmind L Lamfind
 μV Laimfind BM ¹⁰tar FBM da μ_{Λ} ¹¹lear BM ¹²Cingis L
¹³bratair F μV ¹⁴Caicher L Caicer hic et semper F Caichear B Caithear M.

25. ¹Caicher fuair ²leiges ³dōib ⁴thall 435
ar ⁵medrad ⁶na ⁷murdūchand:
⁸is ē ⁹leiges ¹⁰fuair ¹¹Caicher ¹²cain,
cēir ¹³do ¹⁴legad na ¹⁵clūasaib.
26. ¹Fuaradar ²tobar is fir 440
³ac riad ⁴Rifi ⁵eo ro-brīg
⁶eo mblas fīna air iar ⁷soin—
trēn ⁸rosfarrāig ⁹iad a n-¹⁰itoid.
27. Do ¹cholladar ²eo trēn, trēn,
eo ³ceann trī ⁴lāithe ⁵cen lēn,
⁶eor dūisig ⁷Caicher, draī dīl 445
⁸eo ⁹denm(n)edaeh na ¹⁰deig-fir.
28. ¹Is ē ²Caicher, ³comol ⁴nglō,
⁵dorigine dōib ⁶fāistine,
⁷ie ⁸Sleibtib ⁹Rife ¹⁰eo rind:
“¹¹Nī fuil ¹²foss ¹³dūind ¹⁴eo ¹⁵Hērind.” 450
29. “¹Cia hairm ²fil ³ind ⁴Hēriu ard?”
ar ⁵Lāimfind, in lāech lān-⁶garg.
“⁷Is ⁸fata” ⁹asbert ¹⁰Caicher ¹¹and,
“¹²nī ¹³sinn ¹⁴rie, acht ār ¹⁵eōem-chland.”

25. ¹Cacher L -ear B ²leges L leg; F leghis μV leigis μ_A leighis B
leigeas M ³doibh B ⁴ann F tall μVμ_A and B ⁵ins. na L: medradh
μVμ_A meadradh B meadhrad M ⁶don L ⁷chann μVμ_A M -cann B
⁸dob e FB rob e M is is ed ro raidh Caicher μVμ_A ⁹leges L leig; F leighis
B leigis M ¹⁰om. fuair FBM ¹¹Cacher L Caichir B Caitir M
¹²choin B ¹³da M ¹⁴a small dot without meaning over the g F:
legadh μ_A leagadh B leaghadh M ¹⁵gluasaib B cluasaib M.

26. ¹This and the next quatrain om. LFμVμ_A. They have been added
in F, lower marg., but are now with difficulty legible. ²tobar B ³ag B
⁴Rife F ⁵gu roibrigh B eo roibrig M ⁶gum blas B fīna M ⁷sin B
⁸do foir iad ar itaid F d'foir iad ar itoigh B ⁹om. iad M ¹⁰itaig M.

27. ¹-dur B ²gu B ³ceand M ⁴laa F laithi M ⁵gan B
⁶gor duisigh B dusaich M ⁷Caichir B Caithear M ⁸gu B
⁹deinmidach B denmmedech M ¹⁰deagfir F dheighfir B deigfir M.

25. Caicher found a remedy for them yonder
for the melody of the Sirens:
this is the remedy that fair Caicher found,
to melt wax in their ears.
26. They found a spring and a land
at the Rhipaeon headland with great might,
having the taste of wine thereafter:
their thirst overcame them mightily.
27. Soundly, soundly they slept
to the end of three days without sorrow,
till Caicher the faithful druid awakened
the noble men impatiently.
28. It is Caicher, (a brilliant fulfilment!)
who made a prophecy to them,
at the Rhipaeon Mountains with a headland—
“We have no rest until Ireland.”
29. “In what place is lofty Ireland?”
said Lamfhind the violent warrior.
“Very far” said Caicher then,
“it is not we who reach it, but our fair children.”

28. ¹There is an appearance as though this quatrain had been inserted
prima manu in a gap left for it, L: isse μV ²Cacher L Caithear M
³comall FB comul μVμ_A eo seem M ⁴gle L ⁵dorigine L dorindi F
dorinde B dorindi M ⁶fastine LB faisstine μV ⁷hie μV ag B ac M
⁸sleibte L sleibh μV sleibtib μ_A sleibhtibh B ⁹Rifi LFM Rīphi μVμ_A
¹⁰con rind L gu rind B ¹¹nī fil L nī fuil B himeolus doib μVμ_A ¹²foss BM
¹³dún L fuind B ¹⁴gu B eo F ¹⁵Er- F Heirinn μVμ_A Hern B.

29. ¹cait i fuil (fuil B) FB eia hairm fuil in n-Eriu ard μVμ_AB cait a
fuil M ²ins. i L ³in F in n- B an M ⁴Er- F Eriu B Eri M
⁵Lāimfind L Lamfind μV Lamfind μ_A Laimhfind B ⁶gharg B gar M
⁷is and adbert (the last word dittographed) M ⁸fota μVμ_A fada FB
⁹adbert F atbert μVμ_A B ¹⁰same variants as before, Caichear B
Caither M ¹¹ann Fμ_AM ¹²sind Lμ_ABM sib F ¹³raich F roich B
riefta M ¹⁴mór-chland L caemchlanu F caem-clann μ_A caem-cland μVB
caem ehland M.

30. ¹Cingset ²inna ³cath ⁴eo fī,
⁵fodess ⁶sech rendaib ⁷Riphi;
⁸clanda ⁹Gäedil, ¹⁰eo nglaine,
¹¹ro gabsat na ¹²Gaethlaige. 455
31. ¹Genair ²mac ³irdaire ⁴andsain
⁵do ⁶Läimfind ⁷mac Agnomain:
⁸Eber ⁹Glünfind, glän ¹⁰in grib,
¹¹sen-athair ¹²folthchas ¹³Febrig. 460
32. ¹Fine ²Gäedil ³gasta ⁴gil
trī ⁵chēt bliadan ⁶is tīr sin;
⁷trebsat ⁸and ō ⁹sin ¹⁰amach
¹¹no ¹²eo ¹³tāinic ¹⁴Brāth ¹⁵būadaech. 465
33. Brāth ¹deg-mac ²Dēätha dil
³tāinic do ⁴Crēit, ⁵do ⁶Shicil,
Lucht ⁷cethri long ⁸seolta ⁹slāin,
¹⁰desil n-Eorpa ¹¹eo ¹²Hespāin. 470
34. ¹Oece ocus ²Uece ³een ⁴ail,
dā mac ⁵Elloith meic ⁶Noenil;
⁷Mantān ⁸mac ⁹Cachir, ¹⁰Brāth dil,
¹¹ba ¹²siat ¹³na ¹⁴cethri tōesig.

30. ¹einsid F cindsit μV cinnsit μ_{Λ} cindsead BM ²na FBM ina $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$
³catha FBM ⁴gu B ⁵bodes F bodheas B fodeas M ⁶sech rinne L
seoch rannaib F seach B co sleibib μV co sleibib μ_{Λ} seach reandaibh B
seach reandaib M ⁷Rifi (*the fi yo*) F: Rifi also LBM Riphii $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$
⁸clanna F μV clā μ_{Λ} ⁹Gaidil $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$ Gaeidil M ¹⁰gu ngloine B go
ngloine M ¹¹do gabsad F congabsat $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$ roghabsat B roghabsad M
(gobsat O'Curry, wrongly) ¹²-laigi F ¹³-laighe $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$ -loighe B -laigi M.

31. ¹genir FM geinir B ²gein F gen $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$ ³irdraic F aurdair μV
n-irdairc μ_{Λ} orrdraic B oirrdric M ⁴andsin $\mu V M$ annsin F μ_{Λ} B ⁵ie F
ac M ⁶Lāimind L lamfind F μ_{Λ} Laimfind $\mu V B$ lamfind M ⁷in laech
laidir FM (-der M) ⁸Ebir μV ⁹Glünfind B Glunfind M ¹⁰a brig $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$
in gribh B ¹¹seanathair B ¹²-chass μ_{Λ} folthchas B ¹³Feibhrig B
Feibrig M.

32. ¹fini L badar fine Gaeidil gil (*the last word sprs. prima manu*) M
²Gadil F Gaidil $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$ Gaeidil B ³garta $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$ ⁴glain L ghil B
⁵cet M ⁶forsin L as μV ⁷ins. ro L: trebsat L trebsad F trebsad B

30. They advanced in their battalion with venom,
southward past the Rhipacan headlands;
the progeny of Gaedel, with purity,
they landed at the Marshes.
31. A glorious son was born there
to Lamfhind son of Agnomain;
Eber Glunfhind, pure the gryphon,
the curl-haired grandfather of Febrī.
32. The family of Gaedel, the brisk and white,
were three hundred years in that land;
they dwelt there thenceforward,
until Brath the victorious came.
33. Brath, the noble son of faithful Deäth
came to Crete, to Sicily,
the crew of four ships of a safe sailing,
right-hand to Europe, on to Spain.
34. Oece and Uece without blemish,
the two sons of Allot son of Nenual;
Mantan son of Caieher, faithful Brath,
they were the four leaders.

trebsad M ⁸in tir $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$ ann FM hin F ⁹sein L sain μ_{Λ} ¹⁰immach
I. mā μV ¹¹no changed sec. man. to na I. ¹²go B ¹³ricad F tanic
L $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$ tainig B torain M ¹⁴Brat F ¹⁵bidnach F buidhneach B
brethach M.

33. ¹ba mac $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$: deag- B ²Deaatha B ³tanic L $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$ M
tainig B ⁴Creid F'M Chreit μV Chreid BM ⁵ins. is F 's B ⁶Thigir F
Sicil $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$ Shigir B ⁷ceitri F cheathra B cethre M ⁸sain dar sail $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$
⁹slān B'R³ ¹⁰desil Erpa F laim (-mh μ_{Λ}) Heororp $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$ deisil Eorpa B
desil Eorpa M ¹¹gu B ¹²Espā F hEasp. BM.

34. ¹Oigo B Oici M ²Uicci F Uige B Uici M ³can FM gan B
⁴oil M ⁵Elloth F Alldoit $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$ Alloith B Alloit M ⁶Naennel F
Noenbail $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$ Nainil B Noinil M ⁷Mantān L Mandtan B ⁸is FM
⁹Caieher L Caieir F Caieher $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$ Caiehir B Caither M ¹⁰blaith bil FM
Brath bil $\mu V B$ blath bil μ_{Λ} ¹¹fa M ¹²hiad FBM hiat $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$
¹³a F $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$ BM ¹⁴ceitri taisig F ceith (*sic*) toisich μV ceitri toisigh μ_{Λ}
ceithri taisich M taisigh B.

35. ¹Cethri fir ²dēe ³cona ⁴nnāib 475
⁵ba lucht ⁶do ⁷each luig ⁸lāech-lām,
⁹ocus ¹⁰seiseor ¹¹amos ¹²ān;
¹³srōinset trī ¹⁴catha ¹⁵in ¹⁶Hespāin.
36. ¹Ard in cēt-²chath—³nocho ⁴chēl— 480
⁵ro srōinset ⁶for ⁷slūaig ⁸Toisēn;
⁹cath ¹⁰for ¹¹Bachro ¹²ro n-garga,
¹³ocus cath ¹⁴for ¹⁵Longbarda.
37. ¹Ba dar ēis in ²chatha ³elē 485
⁴tāinie ⁵dōib tām ⁶oen-lāithe;
⁷lucht long mae ⁸nElloith ⁹een ¹⁰ehron
¹¹marba ¹²uile acht ¹³deehenbor.
38. ¹Dorachtatar ²ass Ūn is Ēn,
³dā ⁴deg-mac na ⁵tōesech trēn;
⁶iarsin ⁷ro ⁸genir ⁹Bregon,
¹⁰athair ¹¹Bili in ¹²baile-dremon. 490
39. ¹Ro briss mōr ²comlond is ³cath
⁴for ⁵slūag ⁶nEspāin ⁷il-dathach;
⁸Bregon na ⁹nglōr gal, na nglia
¹⁰leis ¹¹dorōnad ¹²Brigantia.

35. ¹ceitri F_{μV}μ_ΛB ceithri M ²deg FB ³cono F ⁴nnāibh B
⁵fa M ⁶in F du B ⁷gach μVB ⁸laech bain B laech nair M
⁹seisir F sseramus ba saim μVμ_Λ (saimh μ_Λ) seisiar B seser M ¹⁰ama; F
¹¹amos B amus M ¹²ain M ¹³roinset (but srainset in O'Curry's
transcript) L srainsit F raensat μVμ_Λ srainsid B srainscad M ¹⁴cata F
¹⁵an FB ind μVμ_Λ ¹⁶Esp. F_{μV}μ_ΛM Easp. B.

36. ¹ard-chath in cet cath ni cel (chel μV) μVμ_Λ ²cath FB ³noco LF
⁴cel F cel B ⁵ro roinset L do srainsit F om. ro; soiset μV soisit μ_Λ
⁶dosrainsid B doradsad M ⁷ar FBM ⁸sluag LFB sluagu μVμ_Λ
⁹Tossēn L Saisel F Tosēn μV Tōsen μ_Λ Tossen B ¹⁰ar F ¹¹Barco L
¹²Barcro F Bachru μVμ_Λ Bacco B Baero M ¹³ba gor gó L ba garg
¹⁴gail μVμ_Λ gu narga B fa garga M ¹⁵Longbarda L Longbardaib μVμ_Λ Longbarrda B.

37. ¹badar deis FBM batar deis μVμ_Λ ²catha Fμ_Λ ³chle μV om. B
⁴tānie LμVμ_ΛM tāing B (but dots inserted sec. man. above the first and
⁵third minims in an attempt to make it tainig) ⁶dōibh B ⁷aenlaithie
⁸(sic) F enlaithie μVμ_ΛB tamh enlaithie B ⁹om. n- B; Alloth F nAlloith
¹⁰μVμ_Λ Alloith B Alloid M ¹¹can FM gan B ¹²6n FμVμ_ΛBM ¹³ba marb

35. Fourteen men with their wives
made the crew for every ship full of warriors,
and six noble hirelings;
they won three battles in Spain.
36. Lofty the first battle—I shall not conceal it—
which they won against the host of the Tuscans;
a battle against the Bachra with violence,
and a battle against the Langobardi.
37. It was after the sinister battle
that there came to them a plague of one day:
the people of the ships of the sons of Allot without
fault
were all dead except ten persons.
38. Un and En came out of it,
two noble sons of the strong chieftains:
thereafter was Bregon born,
father of Bile the strong and raging.
39. He broke a great number of fights and battles
against the many-coloured host of Spain:
Bregon of the shouts of valorous deeds, of the combats,
by him was built Brigantia.

F batar mairb μVμ_Λ ba marbh B fa marb M ¹¹nili F om. μVμ_Λ
¹²dechinmbor F .x. neb- μVμ_Λ dechneabhar B oen ochtar M.

38. ¹tancatar FM tangadar B tancadar M ²as FM om. μVμ_Λ

³dag. me μV daguim the sprs. d (not the e) sec. man. μ_Λ dheagmac B
⁴deagmac M ⁵taisae F toisech μVμ_Λ taiseach B toiseach M ⁶iarsain L
⁷(reinked to iarsam), μV irsin F airsin B ⁸do F ⁹genair LμVμ_ΛM
¹⁰geinir B ¹¹Bregoin L Breogan FM Breoghon μV Breogon μ_ΛB
¹²Bregonn M ¹³Bile μVμ_ΛBM ¹⁴baile-dremon L bale-remar F
¹⁵reamar FM baile-dremon μVμ_Λ (-dreoman μ_Λ) -dhreamhain B baile-
¹⁶remar M.

39. ¹do bris FB ro bris μVμ_ΛM ²comland F comlond μV comlann μ_ΛB
³comlann M ⁴chath L ⁵ar M ⁶sluagh μVμ_ΛB ⁷om. n- L nEsb. F
⁸nEasp. (the a sbcs. sec. man.) B ⁹illadach LM n-illathach FB n-ildathach
¹⁰μVμ_Λ ¹¹Brogain μV Brogain μ_Λ Breoghon B Breogo M
¹²ngleo is na nglia F nglorgal ba guia μVμ_Λ nglor is na nglia B nguin is
¹³na nglia M ¹⁴les μVμ_Λ ¹⁵do rondadh B dorindad M ¹⁶Brigaindsia
¹⁷F Briancia Brigana μ_Λ Brigandsia, the g sprs. sec. man. B Briaindsia M.

40. ¹Bregon mae ²Brätha, ³bläith bil
is dö ⁴ro bo mae ⁵Milid:
⁶secht meic ⁷Milid, maith ⁸a slög
⁹im ¹⁰Éber, im ¹¹Éremön. 495
41. ¹Fa ²Dond, fa ³Ailiach ⁴eo n-äg
⁵im ⁶Ir, is ⁷fa ⁸Arannän,
⁹im ¹⁰Amairgin ¹¹eo ngnē ngil,
ocus fa ¹²Colbta in ¹³claidim. 500
42. Deich mae ¹Bregoin ²cen ³meirbe
⁴Brego, ⁵Fuat, is ⁶Murthemne,
⁷Cūailgne, Cualo ⁸blad ⁹ciabe,
¹⁰Ébleo, ¹¹Nar Ith, is Bile. 505
43. ¹Ith mae ²Bregoin ³eo ⁴mblaid ⁵mbind
⁶tāinic ar ⁷tūs ⁸in ⁹IIērind:
¹⁰is ē ¹¹fer ¹²toesech ¹³rostreb,
do ¹⁴sil ¹⁵noesech nert-¹⁶Gäedel. 510

40. ¹Bregoin L Bili FM Bile $\mu V\mu_A$ Bil B ²Brogain F Bregoin μV
Brogaind μ_A Breoghon B Breogain M ³blad FM ⁴do F roh macc μV
⁵Milidh B Milig M ⁶ocht $\mu V\mu_A R^3$ (nec μ_A) ⁷Miled L Miledh
 $\mu V\mu_A$ Milidh B Milead M ⁸in FBM (slogh B) ⁹fa F ¹⁰Eimir B
Emer M ¹¹Herimon L Erimon F Erimon $\mu V\mu_A$ Eirmon B Ereamon M.
41. ¹This quatrain om. L $\mu V\mu_A$ ²Dhond B ³Oilleach B Aireach M
⁴connadh B cen chrad M ⁵fa BM ⁶Hir BMH ⁷am F
⁸Arannan F Arandan B: andan fa and ngne ngil ins. in rasura B ⁹fa BM
¹⁰Amargin F Aimeirgin B Aimirgin M ¹¹gu B ¹²Colbtha B
Cholpa M ¹³chluidimh B.
42. ¹Brogain F Breogain μVBM Breogoin μ_A ²can F gan B
³meirbi F merbe $\mu V\mu_A$ meirbhi B merbi M ⁴Broga F Eibliu $\mu V\mu_A$

XIV.

R² ¶ 133 (V 2 § 37: E 2 β 13 R 76 B a 10 [first quatrain
only]: D 4 γ 8). R³ ¶ 156 (B 11 β 19: M 270 γ 1).

1. ¹Doluid ²Milid ³as in ⁴Seithia,
⁵scēl for a ⁶facbat hāird ⁷blas,
iar nguín ⁸Refeloir meic ⁹Nēmāin,
¹⁰conā foga, nīr glē-bān ¹¹glas.

1. ¹-dh E ²-dh EB Milig M ³assin V isin RB asa M ⁴Sceithia BM
⁵scēil B ⁶bfagbaid E facbat (a curved stroke over the f) D fagbait B
fagaid M ⁷blass V ⁸Refelair V Reulair DE Refloir RB Refair M

40. Bregon son of Brath, gentle and good,
he had a son, Mil:
the seven sons of Mil—good their host—
including Eber and Eremon.
41. Along with Dond, and Airech with battle,
including Ir, along with Arannan,
including Amorgen with bright countenance,
and along with Colptha of the sword.
42. The ten sons of Bregon without falsehood,
Brega, Fuat, and Murthemne,
Cualnge, Cuala, fame though it were,
Ebleo, Nar, Ith, and Bile.
43. Ith son of Bregon with tuneful fame
came at the first into Ireland:
he is the first of men who inhabited it,
of the noble seed of the powerful Gaedil.

Brego B Breogu M ⁶Fuat F Fuai, corrected sec. man. to Fuad B
⁶Murtemu μV Murtemni μ_A Muirteimne B ⁷Cuala Cuailngie (sic) F
Cualnge Cualu $\mu V\mu_A$ Cuala Cuailgne R³ ⁸bladh $\mu V\mu_A$ ⁹cebe FR²
¹⁰Ebla F Ebleó L μ_A Eibleo M ¹¹iar F Ith Nár $\mu V\mu_A$.
43. ¹Hith $\mu V\mu_A$ M ²Brogan F Breogain μVBM Breogoin μ_A
³om. F gu B ⁴blad F mblaidh μ_A B mbloid M ⁵om. m. LF
⁶tanic L $\mu V\mu_A$ M thainig B ⁷dus B ⁸an μVB ⁹Erind
F $\mu V\mu_A$ M Erinn B ¹⁰isse μ_A ¹¹f F fear R³ ¹²toisach F toisech
 $\mu V\mu_A$ toiseach R³ ¹³do treh F re treabh B nar threab M ¹⁴til F
sil $\mu V\mu_A$ ¹⁵noissach F noisech μVM noiseach μ_A noisiuch B ¹⁶Gaedil F
Goedhel μV Gaidel μ_A neart-Gaidheal B Gaedhil M.

XIV.

1. Mil came out of Scythia,
a tale upon which bards leave a savour,
after the death-wound of Refloir son of Noemius
with his javelin, it was no bright white fetter.

⁶ins. nair: Neman D ¹⁰conā foga D conā foga E a foga B
a faga M foghu and om. nīr V om. nīr also RD ¹¹glass VD as BM.

2. ¹Ceithri barea ²lín a ³theaglaig; 515
⁴lotar ⁵tar ⁶muir co ⁷méd ⁸clann,
⁹eóic ¹⁰lānamna ¹¹dēce ¹²is amus
¹³in gach baire ¹⁴ro tagas ¹⁵tall.
3. ¹Tarrastair trī ²mīs ³sin ⁴indsi 520
⁵ie ⁶Deprofāine na port:
trī ⁷mīs ⁸aile, ⁹ed ¹⁰cen ¹¹gairdi,
¹²ac imrum ¹³tar ¹⁴fairrge ¹⁵fol.
4. ¹Iar sin ²rāncadar tīr ³nĒgipt, 525
co ⁴hairecht ⁵Foraind na ⁶fian:
⁷atnagar ⁸Scota do ⁹Milig
¹⁰ie an abaind tīrig ¹¹thīar.
5. ¹Gabsat dā ²fer dēc ³din ⁴dreim-sin
dāna ⁵d'foglaim for a ⁶cuairt:
⁷Sedga, ⁸Sobairei, ⁹is ¹⁰Suirgi
¹¹re ¹²sāirsi, ¹³cen ¹⁴duilgi nduairc. 530
6. Druidecht ¹la ²Mantan, la Caicher,
la Fulman ³n-indtliuehtach n-oll;
⁴bretemnus las in ⁵ngen ⁶nglūngel,
⁷la ⁸Goscen ⁹ndūir-mer, ¹⁰la Donn.

2. ¹ceitri VEB eetri D ²līon E ³teglaiḡ VEM theaglaigh B
⁴lōdar BM ⁵dar VE ar M ⁶in muir and om. co VED ⁷met V
mbeid B ⁸cland E ⁹eoiḡ E ¹⁰lanomna VB ¹¹dēc V
¹²is in rasura: amhos B ¹³is ó lín M ¹⁴do taghas B ro thagas M
¹⁵thall VM.

3. ¹tarrasair D ansad BM ²miss V misa B ³san DB is an M
⁴iānsi DE ⁵hie VE ag B ac M ⁶Deprofane VD: *here and in line*
541 below sV wrote Depfane, and the cross-curve changing p to pro was
added sec. man. Deprofaine E Tibrad faine B Tibraid Fane M ⁷miss V
⁸eli D ele B ⁹ead VM cadh EB ed D ¹⁰can E con B ¹¹sic V
ghairgi E chairde D gairbi BM ¹²hie imrum V ie imr. D ie iomram E
imreid B lodar for M ¹³for B ¹⁴fairgi V fairrgi DBM ¹⁵ins. na BM.

2. Four ships were the tally of his household;
they came over sea with a multitude of progeny;
fifteen wedded couples and a hireling
in every ship which pressed forward yonder.
3. They stayed three months in the island
at Taprobane of the harbours:
three other months, a season without joyfulness
voyaging over the sea of foam-crests.
4. After that they reached the land of Egypt,
to the court of Pharaoh of the warriors:
Scota is given to Mil
at the land-river in the west.
5. Twelve men of that company undertook
to learn arts during their sojourn:
Setga, Sobairehe, and Suirge,
in craftsmanship, without sad difficulty.
6. Druidry by Mantan, by Caicher,
by Fulman sagacious and great,
law-craft by the white-kneed one,
by Goscen hard and active, by Dond.

4. ¹ar M ²rangadar EB -tar DV ³nEigept V nEghept E nEighipt B
nEgept M ⁴hoireacht BM (-recht B) ⁵Fornim D Foraim B
⁶bfiān E fiānn B ⁷adnaghar VE atadhgor B atnadar M ⁸Scota D
⁹Milidh B ¹⁰ie ond abaind tīrig V hie on abuinm tīrig D ie in abainm
tīrig E do chosnam in tiri B do chosnom in tiri M ¹¹sīar B

5. ¹gabsad E ²om. fer VD ³don E ⁴drem D ⁵dfogluim D
⁶gcuairt E ⁷Sedgha V ⁸ce V -chi D ⁹for is VD ¹⁰ge VD
¹¹ra E ¹²suirsi E -se V ¹³gan ED ¹⁴duilge V.

6. ¹ri E le D ²Manntan E ³nintlichtach V ninnatlechtach E
⁴breithemnus E brithemnus D ⁵ngēin ED ⁶nglungeal E ngluingeal D
⁷ro V re E le D ⁸Goisgen E Goiscen D ⁹ndurmer V duirmher E
¹⁰ri V sre E le D.

The following is the version of the two foregoing quatrains in R³:—

- 5A. ¹Gabbsat da ²fear deg da foghlaim
in gach ceird suthain,³ ba suaíre,
⁴Sedgha, Sobhairce 7 ⁵Suirghe
re ⁶sáirse, gan duilge⁷ nduairc. 527A
- 6A. ¹Draidheacht la ²Mandtan ³'s la Caithear⁴
la Fulman, lasin ⁵ngéal ngart,
⁶rigdacht sead ⁷ba duthaigh do Dhond,⁸
slicht oll, 7 ⁹breithumhnacht. 530A
7. ¹Trí rí na ²laechraide ³lúaidim
ro ⁴leth a ⁵ngnai ⁶sund ⁷eo sál,
⁸fri ⁹fogluim, ¹⁰gaiscid ¹¹ro-druiti
¹²Milid, ¹³Oici, Uici ¹⁴án. 535
8. ¹Lotar ²ass ³i ⁴einn ⁵ocht mblíadan;
⁶ar a ⁷eúlu in ⁸conair ⁹ehóir:
¹⁰ansat ¹¹miss ¹²ie ¹³Deprofáine,
¹⁴oid ed ¹⁵nír bo ¹⁶báire ¹⁷bróin. 540
9. ¹Ráiset ²sech ³rind ⁴Sléibe ⁵Rif:
⁶ro récsat ⁷a ⁸dtír ar ⁹thuind;
bliadain ¹⁰dóib-sa ¹¹lám ¹²re ¹³Tracia,
¹⁴congabsat ¹⁵i nDacia ¹⁶duind. 545

5A. *Variants* from M. ¹gabsad ²⁻²fear dec dib foghlaim an each
cerd suthain ³Segda Sobairei ⁴Surgi ⁵⁻⁵sairsi cen dulgi.

6A. ¹druideacht ²⁻²Mantan la Caitther ³ngel ⁴om. rigdacht B
⁵⁻⁵fa duthaid do Dond ⁶breitheamnocht.

7. ¹tri ri E tuiream BM ²laochraide E laechroidhi B laechraidi M
³luaidhim E ⁴leath BM ⁵ngnai E ngnoi D ngnae M ⁶sunn DM
⁷ar E gu B tar M ⁸fria B ⁹foghlaim VEBM ¹⁰gaisgid ED
gaiscidh B ¹¹rodruide E rodruitti (*spelt d'ruitti*) D fri gnimrad R³
(-adh B) ¹²Milig M ¹³Occe Ucce VE Oicci Uicci D Oige Uige B
¹⁴ain E.

8. ¹delodar B lodar M ²as EDM om. B ³a EB hi D ⁴geinn E

5A. Twelve men undertook to learn
in every enduring craft, it was pleasant,
Setga, Sobairche and Suirge,
in craftsmanship, without sad difficulty.

6A. Druidry by Mantan and by Caicher
by Fulman with the white hospitality:
Kingship it is that was native to Dond,
the lineage of great ones, and law-craft.

7. I mention three kings of the hero-band,
their faces were familiar there to the sea:
great druids in learning and valour,
Mil, Occce, noble Ucce.

8. They went out in the end of eight years;
backward was the true path;
they spent a month in Taprobane,
although it was no goal of sorrow.

9. They steered past the headland of the Rhipaeon
Mountain;
they fared to land upon the wave;
they had a year close by Thracia,
till they landed in brown Dacia.

cind DR³ ⁵ocht *yc in rasura* E: iiii. D ⁶ar do chuala ba (fa M)
hi in choir R³ ⁷geul E ⁸chon- V ⁹coir E ¹⁰ansad ER³
¹¹mis EDR³ ¹²hic R³ ag B a M ¹³Deprofane VD (*see note to line*
520 above) Dibraidh Faine B Tibraid Fane M ¹⁴cidh edh V cidh eadh E
gidheadh B gerbead M ¹⁵nirbo *yc* E: on nir R³ ¹⁶bairi M ¹⁷mbroin E.

9. ¹raisit V rased E -eit D reithsid B risead M ²seach R³ ³rinn E
⁴Slebi D tSlebi E Sleibhi B Slebe M ⁵Riphe E Rife R³ ⁶ro recssat E
do reatsad B do rersad M ⁷o B ⁸tir VDM thir B ⁹tuinn DE
(*one minim omitted* E, making tvü) tuind R³ ¹⁰dóibh-sa B doibseon M
¹¹lámh E laim R³ ¹²ra E ri DB ¹³Tvia E Traigia R³ ¹⁴congabsad E
congabsautt D imreid B imridis M ¹⁵an Dacia ED isin naigia B
anaicia M ¹⁶duinn ED nduind R³.

10. ¹Ansāt ²mīs ³an Dacia ⁴dathaig,
⁵lotar ⁶ass ī ⁷nGothiam ngluair,
⁸i mBelgont, ⁹i mBregaint ¹⁰bruinig,
¹¹isin Espāin ¹²n-uillig n-uair. 550
11. ¹Ceithri ²catha ³dēc ⁴s dā ⁵fēhit
ro ⁶fērsat ⁷ind ⁸lāechrad lōr,
im ⁹chert ¹⁰nEspāine ¹¹dārīrib—
¹²mebdatar ¹³ria ¹⁴Milig mōr.
12. Dē ¹atā ²Milig ³Espāine ⁴airseom— 555
do na ⁵cathaib ⁶sin ro ⁷bris;
⁸Golan a ainm, ⁹data ¹⁰diles,
¹¹mo ¹²phopa, ¹³een ¹⁴dimes ndiss.
13. ¹Dosfāinie ²tām ³i n-a ⁴theglach,
⁵cōie lānamna dēc ⁶dē ⁷atbath,
⁸im na trí ⁹rīgaib ¹⁰ro rāidius,
¹¹i dāil nar ¹²chāinius ¹³i eath. 560
14. ¹Tāngadar meic ²Miled ³molaim
⁴co Hērind a ⁵Hespāin ⁶uill,
⁷na longaib ⁸dar lār ⁹il-lacha, 565
¹⁰ma ¹¹congaib ¹²catha ¹³eruim.

10. ¹ansad EBM ²miss V ³in Dacia VD in naigia B an Aicia M ⁴ndathaig E datlaidh B ndathaich M ⁵lotar R³ ⁶as EDM isin B an EM ⁷Gothim E Goithiam D nGoithiam B; gluair V ⁸in delghainn E iudelgainn VD in Bealdunn B im Belgont M ⁹im Breogainn E in Breagdunn B im Breogann M ¹⁰mbruind E mbruinigh DB ndruinich M ¹¹issin V isan M Easpain R³ ¹²nduillig nduair B: nuillich M.

11. ¹ceitri VB cethri D ²cath E ³deg B ⁴is VR³ om. DE ⁵fēhet D fēheat B ⁶fērsad E fersat VD fērsad B ⁷in V an E ind D im BM ⁸laechraid V laechraidh E laichrad D leacon R³ ⁹cert E ceart B cheart M ¹⁰nEsbaine E Espaini B Espaine M ¹¹doririb VE -ibh B ¹²mebdatar V: da (ga B) cosnom (-am B) R³ ¹³re E do R² ¹⁴Mile B.

12. ¹tā B ita B ²Milidh B ³Espāne V Easpain B ⁴airsium V airsem D airsin B airseon M ⁵aibh B ⁶sen V ⁷bris B

10. They stayed a month in coloured Dacia,
they went out of it into bright Gothia,
into Belgaint, into Bregaint of large companies,
into cold Spain of the headlands.
11. Fourteen battles and two score
the ample hero-band waged,
in truth, about the right to Spain—
They broke before Mil the great.
12. Thence has he the name "Mil of Spain"—
from those battles which he broke;
Golan was his name, a faithful foster-father,
my master, without despicable contempt.
13. There came plague into his household,
fifteen wedded couples died of it,
including the three kings whom I have mentioned,
in an assembly which made no lament in battle.
14. The sons of Mil whom I praise came
to Ireland from great Spain:
in their ships over a plain of many sea-birds,
in which they maintained crooked battle.

¹Galam R³ Golumh B ²dada E ³dilis VE dileas BM ⁴am B ⁵popa V pupa E phapa D poba B foba M ⁶gan EB gen D ⁷dimes ndis VE dimeas ris B dimes dis M.

13. ¹-fanie VM -fanuig D -fainig B ²tamh E tamain a theaglach B ³inna D ⁴teglach VDM ⁵cōie lanomna V coig E da lanomain (-amain M) R³ ⁶om. de M ⁷adbath EM ⁸um B ⁹rīguib D rīogaib E ¹⁰ro raidhus V ro raides E do raidheadh B ro raided M ¹¹li dhail V riam nochor cáinead B uair ni ro cained M ¹²cain E ¹³hi D a B.

14. ¹-catar V -gatar D ²Miledh V Milead M ³moluim D ⁴ind Eriun VD an Eirun E an Er- B ⁵Hesbain E Heaspain BM ⁶huill D ⁷li longaib VE na hiongaib D a longa B ⁸tar E gu B co M ⁹ind lacha V ¹⁰ana E in D ¹¹-bh B ¹²chatha VDB ¹³chruind B cruind M.

15. ¹Cóic ²lānamna ³ceathair ⁴deg-déich
⁵tuesat ⁶leo, ⁷do muintir mōir:
⁸ceathrar ⁹amus ¹⁰mar dom māidit
¹¹dōib for scāil a ¹²Hespāin ¹³ōig. 570
16. Íar sin ¹gabsat ²Inber ³Scēne
Día Máirt, for ⁴cert-⁵challainn ⁶Maí:
⁷Ó sin ⁸amaeh, ⁹fa ¹⁰derb ¹¹linne,
¹²ro ¹³dergsat ¹⁴rindi ar gach ¹⁵rai.
17. ¹Rē eind bliadna ²randsat ³Érind 575
⁴in dib ⁵randuib dēc, ⁶derb ⁷lem,
im ⁸Éremōn is ⁹im ¹⁰Éber
im ¹¹deichnebar ¹²trēnfer ¹³tend.
18. ¹Cóicer ²gabsadar im ³Éber 580
⁴i l-leith ⁵ndescertach ⁶hi tind,
⁷da ⁸Étan, ⁹is ¹⁰Mantan ¹¹mōr-glan,
¹²Caicher oeus Fulman ¹³find.
19. ¹Cóicer im ²Éremōn ³n-ūasal
⁴gabsat ⁵im ⁶tūaiscert ⁷atbēr,
⁸Aimirgen, ⁹Sobairci, ¹⁰Segda, 585
¹¹Gosten, ¹²Suirgí, ¹³tetra ¹⁴trēn.

15. ¹coig EB ²lanomhna B ³ins. a M: .iiii. V ceitri E ceathair BM
⁴deghdeich E dec (om. deich: deg B) BM ⁵tugsat E tugsat DB ⁶lōe V
⁷don muintir mhoir B ⁸cestrar V cestrar B ceathrar M ⁹amhus EB
¹⁰ba sid fri sgail VD ba fīdh friscail E mardommaidh doib B marda
maidit M ¹¹ind Erinn V an Eir- E in Herinn D ro scailit M (doib
transferred to preceding line B om. M) ¹²Hesbain E ¹³oigh EB.

16. ¹gabsad ER² ²inbiur D indber M inbhear B ³Scēne E
Scēini B ⁴VD VD ceirt E ceart B ⁵nd M ⁶Maioi E Maii D
⁷o šain V o šoin D ⁸inmaeh V ⁹ba R² co B ¹⁰dearb B
¹¹linde E demin R² ¹²do R² ¹³dergsad EB dercsat M ¹⁴rinne ED
rind Femín (Feimín B) fai R² ¹⁵raoi E, ro changed sec. man. to rai D.

17. ¹ria VD a B i M ²rannsat VD rannsat E roindsid B randsad M
³Eirinn E, H- D ⁴a ndibh EB ⁵rannaib VB randaibh deg E
rannaib D randaib M ⁶dearb B ⁷leam VB ⁸Erimon VB
Eoiremon E ⁹um B am M ¹⁰Eimher E ¹¹dechniubur V

15. Four good tens and five of wedded couples
they brought with them, of the great company:
four hirelings, as they assert to me,
they had, in parting from virgin Spain.
16. After that they landed in Inber Scene
a Tuesday, on the exact Kalends of May:
from that out, we may be certain
they reddened points on every plain.
17. Before the end of a year they partitioned Ireland
into twelve parts, I hold it for certain,
between Eremon, Eber
and ten strong champions.
18. Five men including Eber landed
in the southern half in strife:
two Etans, and Mantan great and pure,
Caicher and white Fulman.
19. Five men including noble Eremon
landed around the north, I shall say it,
Amorgen, Sobairche, Setga,
Goscen, Suirge, the strong raven.

deichneabhar E deichniubur D deithneabhar B ¹²-fer VM treinifer E
-fear B ¹³tenn D teand B.

18. ¹coicir V coiger E coigear B ²gabsadar E gabsatar D rogabsat B
rogabsad M ³Eimer with no b written above the m E Emer M
⁴alleth V hi leith E allet D in leath R² ⁵deiscertach B om. n- M
⁶hi tinn V a dind E nar thim B ad chind M ⁷sic R² En is R²
⁸Eadan EM Adan B ⁹om. R² ¹⁰Mantan EB ¹¹murglan VEDM
¹²Caithear B Caither M ¹³finn VE.

19. ¹coicir E coigear B ²Erimon VB Eiremon E ³om. n- ER²
⁴sad EM ⁵an E i B ⁶tuaicert VD ⁷adber EM ⁸Amargen V
Aimirgin EM Amairgein D Aimeirgein B ⁹Sobairche V Sobhairci E
Sobairchi D Sogairce B Sobairci M ¹⁰Setga VD Sedghai E Sedga B
¹¹Goscen R² Goistin B Goisten M ¹²Suirge DB Surge EM ¹³Detla B
Dedla M ¹⁴deir B der M.

20. Ráith ¹Bethaig ²ac Eóir na ³n-aiged
clas la ⁴Héremōn ⁵iar n-ól,
Ráith ⁶Aindind ⁷re Héber ⁸mórtar,
la ⁹Haimirgin ¹⁰Tóchar Mór. 590
21. Dūn ¹Sobairei ²sund ³iar sāime
⁴la ⁵Sobairei ⁶tāeb-geal ⁷tend;
⁸Delginis ⁹la ¹⁰Setga ¹¹iar ¹²suilgi;
¹³Dun ¹⁴Étair ¹⁵la ¹⁶Suirgi ¹⁷seng.
22. ¹Ráith ²Arda Sūird ³clas ⁴la Fulman,
Dūn ⁵mBindi ⁶la ⁷Caieher ⁸crōn,
Ráith ⁹Rigbaird ¹⁰la ¹¹Hetan ¹²n-eal,
¹³Dūn ¹⁴Cairich ¹⁵la ¹⁶Hetan ¹⁷n-ōg. 595
23. ¹Cumtach ²Nair ³iar ⁴Slēib ⁵Mis ⁶molaím,
⁷la ⁸Goisten, ⁹nir ¹⁰dodaing dō;
¹¹at iat ¹²sin ¹³a rātha ¹⁴rēlaím
¹⁵is a raínd for ¹⁶Érind so. 600
24. ¹Milid ²assin ³Scithia ⁴sciathaig
⁵Hisin ⁶Dardāin, nī ⁷delm ⁸ngō,
⁹Gabais ¹⁰Espāin ¹¹i l-leith ¹²lāithi
ro ¹³bo ¹⁴sed ¹⁵eo ndaithi do. 605

20. ¹Rath D Bethaich D Bedthaigh B Beothaid M ²ic VDB ag E
³noighed V naighed E noidedh D naidheadh B ⁴Herimon VB Heiremon E
Hereamon M ⁵ar B ⁶Oind VD Cind E Aindinn B ⁷fi he-b-na
nogthor (*the dot before b inserted by re-inker*) V: fri also ED: Heiber E
Heimhear B ⁸na nogthor E na nogthor also in D ⁹Hamargen V
Haimirgen E Hamairin B ¹⁰tochur E tochor DB.

21. ¹Sobaire V -rgi D Sobhairehe B ²sun D ³iar saine VE
iar sealad B re selad M ⁴le R ⁵-airgi V -airehi D -airehe B
⁶taebgel V taobhgeal E toebgel D taebhgeal B ⁷tenn VD teand B
⁸Deilginis V Delcinis (*the c sprs.*) E Deilinis B Delinis M ⁹le B re M
¹⁰Setgha B Sedga M ¹¹om. E ¹²suirge E suilge BM ¹³Duin M
¹⁴Edair BM ¹⁵re M ¹⁶Suirge EDB Surge M ¹⁷seang B.

22. ¹rath EDB ²Airde E ³slas ED ⁴fri R² le B ⁵Findi V
Binne E Binni D Minde B ⁶le B ⁷Caithir E Caieher D Cathear B
Caither M ⁸mor R² ⁹Rigbair E -ghbh- B ¹⁰fri R² re B

20. Raith Bethaig at the Eoir of the Guests,
dug by Eremon after drinking;
Raith Ainninn by Eber, be it magnified!
by Amorgen the Great Causeway.
21. Dun Sobairehe there after repose,
by Sobairehe the white-sided and strong;
Delginis by Setga after ease;
Dun Etair by slender Suirge.
22. Raith Arda Suird dug by Fulman,
Dun Bindi by swarthy Caieher,
Raith Rigbaird by formidable Etan,
Dun Cairich by pure Etan.
23. The building of Nar west of Sliab Mis I celebrate
by Goscen, it was not difficult for him:
Those are their forts which I set forth,
and this is their divisions over Ireland.
24. Mil out of shield-like Seythia
upon Thursday, it is no sound of falsehoods,
took Spain in half a day—
it was a way with nimbleness for him.

¹¹Headan R² ¹²neccal E negal D neagal B neacal M ¹³ins. is R²
¹⁴Croieh R² Goirig B ¹⁵re VD ro E le B ¹⁶Etan VE Headan B
Hedan M ¹⁷om. n- R² ogh VE oc D nogh B.

23. ¹Cumtach *all MSS. but* cumhdach B ²nar yc E in rasura nard D
³ar VD a E ⁴Slēib EB Sliab M ⁵Miss V ⁶moluim D ⁷le B
⁸Goiscen VD Goisgen E Goisdin B ⁹nir bo nair do (dho B) R²
¹⁰dodaing VEB doduing D ¹¹is iat V is iad E hisiat D ¹²sain EDB
¹³na ratha V arratha ED ¹⁴reim VDB relimm E relaim M ¹⁵sa
roind fa (ar B) Erind andso R² ¹⁶Herind ED.

24. ¹Milidh VB Milig M ²asin D sin B isa M ³Scethia R²
⁴sciathaigh EB sciama M ⁵hisi D isa B isin M ⁶Dardān B
⁷deilm EB ⁸dho B ⁹gabuis ED ¹⁰Easp. B ¹¹hilleth D
alleith B aleith M ¹²lathi E laithe B ¹³po ED robsad M ¹⁴sét
VEDM (set D) theist B ¹⁵condathi ED conaidthe B conaithi M.

XV.

Min ¶ 107 A (μ/\wedge 26 α 43: μ R 91 δ 3). R³ ¶ 142 (B 10 β 2:
M 268 δ 31: H 100 β 46).

1. ¹Ceithri ²randa ³raiter ⁴dē
for ⁵suidi na ⁶Gaedilge:
Canōin, ⁷Gramadaich, ⁸is Stair,
ocus Rīm co n-a ⁹ro-bail. 610
2. Is ¹i ²in ³Chanōin, ⁴nī cheleb,
⁵Senchus Mōr, ⁶Bretha Nemed—
⁷Nochosdērna ⁸duine dō—
⁹Āi ¹⁰Chermna γ ¹¹Āi ¹²Chano. 615
3. Is ¹i ²in ³Gramadaich ⁴na nglond⁴
na trī ⁵chāicait ⁶erāeb-⁷ogom,
na ⁸rēmenna, ⁹rēm ¹⁰nena,
¹¹is na ¹²duili ¹³deig-feda. 620
4. Is ¹i ²in ³Stair, ⁴fa ⁵stiuir ⁶fessa,
na ⁷fessa, na ⁸foirfessa,
⁹tāna, ¹⁰togla, ¹¹tricha scēl,
ocus tri ¹²fichit ¹³foiscēl. 625
5. Is ¹i ²in Rīm ³nocho rādom,
⁴Bretha ⁵Cai ⁶can imarchor:
⁷is esbach a ⁸sechna ⁹so,
¹⁰enesta na ¹¹ceithri rando. 625

1. ¹Ceithri BH Cethri μ R ²ranna μ/\wedge μ R randa M ³raither B
raitear M rater H ⁴dhe B ⁵suithe μ/\wedge suidiu μ R snoidhe B saidhe M
⁶Gaidhel- μ/\wedge Gaidilce μ R Gaedheilge B Gaedilge MH ⁷gramat- μ/\wedge μ R
gramadaich M gramutach H ⁸istair μ/\wedge γ Stair μ R isdair BH is sdair M
⁹rogail μ R.

2. ¹hi μ/\wedge ²an μ R ³Canoin μ/\wedge μ R ⁴nir ceileadh μ/\wedge ni celeb μ R
ni cheiliub BM ni cheilib H ⁵Senchas B ⁶breata B breatha M:
Nemeadh μ/\wedge Neimiudh B Nemidh H ⁷nochosasdernai μ/\wedge nochasderna μ R
nochodearna B nochosdearna M ⁸duide and om. do μ/\wedge μ R duini H ⁹Aei M
¹⁰Caue μ R Cearmna B Chearmna M ¹¹na Cermna μ R: Oei M
¹²Chanae μ/\wedge Chana H.

3. ¹hi μ/\wedge M ²an μ RH ³Gramataich μ/\wedge μ R(a)MH ⁴om. μ R, na
nglonn μ/\wedge H ⁵choecat μ/\wedge chaeicaid B chaicaid H ⁶Craob μ R
craebh B ⁷ogam μ/\wedge M ⁸rend μ R reimenda BH remeanna M

XV.

1. It is said that it has four divisions
among scholars of Gaedelic:
Canons, Grammar, and History,
and Prosody with its great prosperity.
2. This is Canons, I shall not conceal it,
the Great Story, the Judgements of Nemed—
no (mere) man made it for him—
the Science of Cermna and the Science of Cano.
3. This is Grammar of the achievements,
the thrice fifty branching Oghams,
the declensions, the row of the letter,
and the books of a good wood.
4. This is History, it was a rudder of knowledge,
the sciences, the extra sciences,
forays, captures, thirty sagas,
and three-score subordinate sagas.
5. This is Rhyme, of which we shall not speak,
The Judgements of Cai without error;
it is idle to shun these matters,
seemly are the four parts.

¹rem μ/\wedge M ²neana B ³ γ μ R ⁴duile μ/\wedge ⁵degfeda μ/\wedge
dagfeda μ R deighfeadh B deighfeada M.

4. ¹an μ RH ²sdair μ RMH ³fo μ/\wedge μ R ⁴sdair μ RH
⁵messa μ/\wedge mesa μ R meassa B feasa M fesa H ⁶feassa B feasa M
fessa H ⁷forbfa μ/\wedge forbessa μ R foirfesa (the first a sbs. sec.
man.) B foireasa M forfesa H ⁸togla tana μ R ⁹tola B
¹⁰trichaid H ¹¹fichid B fiched H ¹²roger μ/\wedge μ R foseól BH.

5. ¹an μ R ²nocho reob μ/\wedge nochasreab μ R nochoradh omh (sic) B
nocha rádomh H ³breatha BM ⁴Cói H ⁵conimtheor μ/\wedge conimtear
 μ R conimtheagor B conimthegur H ⁶is espa μ/\wedge his easba μ R is
easbach BM is espach H ⁷seach- MB ⁸sona μ R ⁹enesda μ R
eneasta BM ¹⁰cethra ranno μ/\wedge cethra ranno μ R ceatra B ceithri M
ceithri H.

(a) In μ R the g dotted.

XVI.

Min ¶ 107 A ($\mu\wedge$ 26 β 14 : μR 91 δ 23). R^3 ¶ 142 (B 10 β 18 :
M 269 a 1).

1. In bērla ¹tebidi ²trie,
ro ³lesaig ⁴Gāedel ⁵glan-glic,
⁶uathad do ⁷sīl ⁸Gāedil ⁹gairb
duine ¹⁰ea mbeith a ¹¹fīr-aíum. 630
2. “¹Gāidelg” ²adairaid sin fris
³lucht ⁴aineōlais is ainbfis :
⁵nī ⁶nesa do ⁷Gāedel glie
⁸inas do each ele oirrdrie.
3. ¹Mad ail dam ²a ³rād fri cāch 635
⁴co roib co ⁵follus in fāth,
⁶at iat—re ⁷ngarmann can ⁸gai—
ceithri ⁹hanmann in ¹⁰bērlai—
4. “¹Ticcoladh” a Heabra ard,
is “²Moloth” a Grēig glē-garg, 640
“³Legulus” a ⁴Laidin le,
“⁵Tinōiltech” ⁶ara fēine.
5. Gebe ¹bess for a n-iarair,
etir dāeseair is diamair,
²is iat sin ean time tra 645
³anmann ⁴binde ⁵in bērla.

1. ¹tobaide $\mu\wedge\mu R$ teibidhe B teibidi M ²trie $\mu\wedge\mu RB$ ³lessaig
 $\mu\wedge$ leasaigh B ⁴Gaidel $\mu\wedge$ Goidel μR -dhel B ⁵glain gliec μR gliec
also $\mu\wedge$ ⁶uathadh $\mu\wedge$ B huath- μR ⁷sīl $\mu R\mu\wedge B$ ⁸Gaidil
 $\mu\wedge\mu R$ Gaedhil B Gaedil M ⁹gairbh B $\mu\wedge$ ¹⁰ga μRB cambeth $\mu\wedge$
¹¹fīr $\mu R\mu\wedge$.

2. ¹Gaidile μR Gaidel get beratsam friss $\mu\wedge$ Gaedhelg B Gaedile M
²atberassom μR adairaidsin B adearaidsin M ³in lucht aineolach
ainbfis $\mu\wedge\mu R$ (om. is ainbf. μR) ⁴in eolais san ainfis B ⁵ni nesso
do Gaidelge gliec $\mu\wedge$ ⁶neassa B neasa M ⁷Gaidil μR Ghaedhelg B
⁸inda dogach ni is airdire $\mu\wedge$ indas da each ni as airdire μR ana da each
M inas do gach ealg urrdraic B.

XVI.

1. The select vivacious language
which Gaedel the pure and cunning improved,
few of the seed of rough Gaedel
are the men who may know its real name.
2. “Gaedelg”—they call it so,
people who are ignorant and have no knowledge :
no nearer to cunning Gaedel
than to any conspicuous notable.
3. Were I to desire to say to everyone
that the matter was evident,
here are—with which they name it without false-
hood—
the four names of the language.
4. “Ticcolath” in lofty Hebrew,
“Moloth” in Greek bright and rough,
“Legulus” therewith in Latin,
“Tinoiltech” among its people.
5. Whoever he be who should be seeking them,
whether lowly or obscure,
those, indeed, without fear
are the tuneful names of the language.

3. ¹madh B ²a raga fria each B ³rād μR ⁴co rab $\mu\wedge$
co raib μR gurabh gu B ⁵fallus μR ⁶atat sunn eer (een μR)
gaimradh ngle (ngae μR) ceathra hanmanna (ceithri anmae μR) $\mu\wedge\mu R$ ati
iad B ⁷ngarmand gan B ⁸gae M ⁹hanmand B ¹⁰berlae μR .

4. ¹Ticcoloth (Ticcolad μR) a Ebra aird (ard μR), Maloth isin Grece (a
Grec μR) gle gairg (gare μR) $\mu\wedge\mu R$ Ticcoladh B ²Laitin $\mu\wedge\mu R$
³Tinoltach $\mu\wedge$ Tinoiltech B ⁴are fene $\mu\wedge\mu R$.

5. ¹bess μR ²is eol dam een time tra $\mu\wedge\mu R$ is eol dam gan time
tra B ³anmanna μR anmonda B ⁴binne $\mu\wedge\mu R$ binde B ⁵an μR .

XVII.

R³ ¶ 142 (B 10 β 31: M 269 a 12).

1. ¹Goirtigernn ainm in bērla
do bi ²ac ³Mae Dē ⁴deg-ērgna,
ocus ⁵ac sil nAdaim ūair,
rē cumdaech in Tuir ⁶Nemrūaid. 650
2. Ge ro ¹lean ²dē ³bēarla ⁴Eabra,
⁵ac lucht in domain ⁶dealbda,
⁷ead bus ainm ⁸iar mbrāth na mbenn,
⁹don bērla, ¹⁰guāth-Goirtigern.

1. ¹sic M, Goirtigearnd B ²ag B ³a gloss in M i. ac Adam
⁴deigerna M ⁵ag sil Adhaimh (om. n-) B ⁶-aidh B.

XVIII.

R³ ¶ 144 (B 10 γ 16).

1. Gaidhel Glas, foghnaidh a radh
risi(n) fear crithir comlan,
indi diata Gaedhel Glas,
uathadh ga fuil a eolas. 655
2. Dar fotraicead sa tuind trein,
¹deadh-mac Niuil, mac gu mor-mein, 660
gur iadh in athair fa chneas,
o nar ²b'urus a leigheas.
3. An ti glas ni dheachaidh dhe,
no gur foir co maith Maise:
d'fagsadar file ro-feas 665
gurob de ata Gaedel Glas.
4. Do fagaibh do ocus da cloind
Masi—fa maith in aemoing—
gan peist gan nathair gu neim
a tir da ngebdaís Gaideil. 670
5. Fagbais fagbhala ele
Masi, mac gu mor-gloine,
gan diultagh fri daim n-Ain-fir
ag sil gasta glan-Gacidil.

2. ¹the a sbs. yc B ²burusa a B.

XVII.

1. Goirtigern was the name of the language
which the Son of God (= Adam) of good wisdom had,
as well as the seed of Adam once on a time,
before the building of Nemrod's Tower.
2. Although it was called the Hebrew language
among the folk of the shapely world,
This is what the name shall be according to the
judgement of the summits [= sages]
for the language, current Goirtigern.

2. ¹len B ²om. de M ³berla M ⁴Eabhra B ⁵ag B
⁶delbha B ⁷eadh B ⁸re nublirath mbend B ⁹in M
¹⁰gnaith M Garthigearnd B.

XVIII.

1. Gaedel Glas—it is convenient to give the name
to the sparkling (?) perfect man:
the reason why he was called Gaedel Glas,
few there be who know thereof.
2. As he laved him in the strong wave,
the good son of Nel, a youth with great mind,
the serpent wound about his skin,
so that his healing was not easy.
3. The green spot would not depart from him
till Moses gave him good assistance:
Poets have left the important fact of knowledge
That "Gaedel Glas" comes therefrom.
4. He left to him and to his progeny
did Moses—good was the instrument—
that no reptile or venomous serpent should be
in the land where the Gaedil should settle.
5. He left other bequests,
did Moses, a youth of great renown,
that the valorous seed of pure Gaedel
should never oppose the company of the Most High.

XIX.

R³ ¶ 153 (B 10 § 58: M 270 a 4).

Ro gon ¹Milig ²fa maith eland 675
³Raflair nír bo ro-anband
 Ro ⁴seuch eo crúaid on tír ⁵trell
 Co sruth Nil, eo fuair Forand.

¹ Milidh B ² bu B ³ Refalsair nar bo (ro ins. sec. man.) gand B
⁴ sguch gu crúaidh B ⁵ treall B.

XX.

R² ¶ 432 (V 11 γ 25: Λ 13 β 8: E 8 β 7: D 20 γ 26).R³ ¶ 156 (B 11 β 7: M 270 β 37).

1. Ocht meic ¹Golaim na ngáire 680
²darb ainm ³Milid ⁴Easpáine,
⁵ro ⁶sleachtadar ⁷mili ⁸mag:
⁹ea tír as a ¹⁰tāncadar?
2. ¹Aireach ²Februad, ³Dond, dar Día
⁴do genair sa Sceithia;
⁵ruead ⁶in ⁷Eígept ⁸aibnig 685
⁹Eber ocus ¹⁰Aimirgin.
3. Hir, ¹ní robe lāech ²bu lia
³ro genair ⁴a thaebh ⁵Traigia.
 Ro ⁶genair ⁷Colptha in ⁸cloidim
⁹a ¹⁰nglind ¹¹Colpa a ¹²nGaethlaidib. 690
4. ¹Ruelha ie tur Breogain ²can brón
³Erennān is ⁴Eremōn:
 dā ⁵sōsar na ⁶lāech ⁷can locht:
 Mac Dē do ⁸trāeth a ⁹tothocht.

1. ¹ Galaim V_ΛED ² darb V_ΛED ³ Milidh VB Milig M
⁴ Esp. V_ΛED ⁵ do B ⁶ sleachtatar V_Λ slechtsatar ED ⁷ mile B
⁸ magh VB ⁹ citne tíre ingeinitar (gen- V) V_Λ citne tíre hingenatar E
 citne tíri in genatar D: cia M ¹⁰ tangadar B.
 2. ¹ Herech Febra is Donn, dar (is Don is dar Λ) V_ΛED ² Februadh B
³ ins. is B ⁴ ro geinitar (gen- V) isin (sin V) Scithia V_Λ ro genatar
 sin Scithia E rogenair hi taeb Traicia D ro geinedair sin Sceithia B do
 genair i taeb Traigia, with no sa Sceithia sprs. M ⁵ rueait VE rueait Λ
 rugad D rugadh B ⁶ an V_ΛB ind E ⁷ Eígept ΛE Eígept D Eígept B
⁸ aibnigh V_Λ aibnigh B ⁹ Eber Find (Finn D) is Amargen (Amh- Λ
 Amargin E Aimirgin D) V_ΛED ¹⁰ Ameirgein B.

XIX.

Mil of good progeny inflicted a death-wound
 on Refloir, who was not weak:
 he departed under duress from the land once on a
 time
 to the river Nile, till he found Pharao.

XX.

1. The eight sons of Golam of the laughings,
 whose name was Mil of Spain,
 they cleared a thousand plains:
 what was the land from which they came?
2. Airech Februa, Dond, before God!
 they were born in Seythia.
 Born in streamy Egypt
 were Eber and Amorgen.
3. Ir, no warrior was greater
 was born on the side of Thracia—
 Colptha of the sword was born
 in the valley of Colpa (Gampa, R²) in the Marshes.
4. Born at the tower of Breogan without sorrow
 were Erennan and Eremon,
 the two youngest of the warriors without blemish:
 the Son of God subdued their wealth.

3. ¹ nir been laech V_Λ nir been laech E nir been laech D ni roibe
 laech B ni roibi laech M ² bud V_ΛD bad EM ³ ro geiner B
⁴ i taeb VD i ttaeb Λ do taeb E i tracht M ⁵ Tracia VE Traicia Λ
 Tragia D ⁶ geinir B ⁷ Colpta D Colpa B ⁸ claidim V claidhim Λ
 cloidheim B ⁹ hi nglinn Gampa i nGaethlaigib (-tag- Λ) V_Λ in glinn
 Gampa in Gaethlaigib D ¹⁰ nglind B ¹¹ Gampan Gaotl-ib E Cholpa M
¹² -ibh B.

4. ¹ rucht E rugtha ag B ² cen V_ΛE cin D gan B ³ Herannan VD
 Herennan Λ Herandan E Arandan B ⁴ Herimon V_Λ Eiremon E Eirimon B
⁵ sossar Λ sosar D ⁶ laoch E ⁷ gan V_ΛB cen E cin D ⁸ traeth E
⁹ totocht E.

NOTES ON SECTION II.

PROSE TEXTS.

First Redaction.

103. (= R³ ¶ 134). The genealogical relationship of Feinius to Noah is in confusion. R¹ gives us Feinius s. Baath s. Gomer s. Iaphet; R² makes Baath s. Magog, and its influence has affected R³, which here deserts the F*Q tradition.

The short Min version of this paragraph brings us as near as we can get to the original form, except for the interpolated Ibath, who is elsewhere a *brother* of Baath. He is unknown to F*Q in this place. In *taissech amra airigda* was probably an interlined gloss in √R¹, *taissech* being written in a not very intelligible contracted form; it was therefore misread *fer* by √L. *Issē-side . . . bērlai* was evidently a marginal note in √R¹, and the genealogy of Nimrod the same in √R¹; the first note was taken into the text before the second, for the latter has no fixed "habitat": it is here in L, but in F*Q it has entered the following paragraph (= R³ ¶ 137).

The latter interpolation emphasises a contrast, not consistently maintained, between *Bērla Fēne*, attributed to Feinius, and *Gāedelg*, constructed by Gaedel Glas (¶ 107). Such contrasts of a current and a learned language are common: we find them in *Auraicept na n-Éces*, in *Maro*, in *Hisperica Famina* (where "Hisperic" and "Ausonie," i.e. normal Latin, are contrasted, to the disadvantage of the latter). There are numerous conflicting stories of the ancestry of Feinius and of the nature of his exploit: see *Auraicept* ed. Calder, pp. 14, 16. The whole episode of the artificial synthesis of the Gaelic language is one of the most obvious indications of the spuriousness of this part of the story.

104. (= R³ ¶ 137). The differences between R¹ and R³ (M version) are scribal only: but M has one bad error (*isin*

nAsia for *assind Assia*, corrected in the derivatives of B) and also some interpolations, on which see the notes on ¶ 137.

105. (= R³ ¶ 138). The interpolation in this ¶ is adapted from Augustine (*Civ. Dei* iv. 6) by whom it has been borrowed from Trogus Pompeius or his summarizer Justin. See also Isidore, *Etym.* xviii. 1, Orosius i. 1, ii. 2. The last-named author stresses the contrast between the peaceful pastoral life of earlier times and the military turmoil which resulted from the ambitions of Ninus.

Min is free from the intrusion: its peculiar reading *scor* for *dēnam* is interesting.

In R¹ the reading of F is much better than L, and is very close to *Q. *Fō oen mūin* in L may possibly betray a Latin original, but it is more probably a misreading of *smacht* written in √L in an abbreviated form (rmaḟ) and slightly injured. Another lapse of sL is the omission of *da decc* at the beginning of the ¶. The chronology presupposed as between the Babylonian and Egyptian monarchs mentioned in the narratives is of course ridiculous.

At the end of the ¶, by turning *ní* to *no* (*Q in R³), or *do* (F), the F*Q tradition has badly perverted the real sense of the passage.

106. (= R³ ¶ 140). Gaedel Glas is suddenly introduced, and his relationship to Nel is left unstated. Perhaps a sentence has been lost from the beginning of this ¶, describing the settlement of Nel in Egypt and his marriage to Scota. R³ shows us what it was like, but the ¶ is there re-written and expanded under the influence of the poem no. X (*Fēne ó Fheinius*). It must be noticed, however, that Scota is unknown to Min, so that she may be a comparatively late intrusion into the R¹ tradition.

107. (= R³ ¶ 142, first part). The list of languages in the different MSS. varies in spelling and other respects to such an extent that the only satisfactory way of setting it forth is to collect all the versions into parallel columns. This will be found as an appendix to the present Section, and any comments that it may suggest are given at the end of this group of notes. As R² does not possess the list of languages

in any form, it is unlikely that the prose tabular list would have been omitted from Min, when it was tacked on to R², if Min had contained it; we infer, therefore, that the metrical list was the only catalogue of the languages in Min.

108. (= R² ¶ 125, R³ ¶ 150). Though the practical identity of this ¶ in R¹ and R³ would suggest that the latter is, as usual, dependent on the former, the context shows that this is not the case. It reaches R³ from R², or, rather, from the long interpolation in certain mss. of R², on which see below, note on ¶ 118. It must, however, have been originally borrowed by R² from R¹, for in R² it interrupts the sense, which runs continuously from ¶ 124 to ¶ 126: evidently it was scribbled, as a marginal note of time, having been borrowed for the purpose from some ms. of R¹. A slight modification has been made at the beginning to adapt it to its new context.

109. (= R³ ¶ 151). R³ gives us a composite text, with matter from R² ¶ 127 (the description of the voyage). The divergent texts in Min and R¹ relating to Noenel indicate that this sentence is, as we have marked it, glossarial.

110. (= R³ ¶ 152). Here again R³ gives a composite text, taking the vendetta story from some other, fragmentary, source. This can be shown by setting forth the succession of kings in tabular form.

R ¹		R ³	
<i>Scythians</i>	<i>Gaedil</i>	<i>Scythians</i>	<i>Gaedil</i>
. . .	Eber Scot	. . .	Eber Scot
. . .	Boamain	. . .	Boamain
Noemius	. . .	Noemius	. . .
. . .	Ogamain	. . .	Ogamain
Refill	. . .	. . .	. . .
. . .	Tat	. . .	. . .
Refloir	. . .	Refloir	. . .
. . .	Agnomain	. . .	Mil

Both versions agree that Ogamain died a natural death, but after that point they diverge. R² (¶ 126) gives a mere abstract, but agrees with R³ in ending with Mil, not with

Agnomain. In ¶ 157, however, R³ returns to this point of divergence, and gives us a copy of the R¹ text: the close correspondence with F shows that ∞ R³ has gone back for this part of his text to *Q. The assonantal names of Nēl and Nenuail indicate that their legend is in essence dioseurie: the mutual hostility of their descendants would be quite in keeping with this.

The words *ar ecin*, near the beginning of this ¶, must be glossarial, as they have no fixed abode in the sentence. We have already laid down this principle.

We can hardly doubt that the name "Tat" has been borrowed from Eusebius. *Tat filius Hermetis Trismegisti* is recorded in the version of Hieronymus as flourishing in the nineteenth year of Amintes, king of Assyria. We need not here discuss the connexion of this name with that of the Egyptian god Thoth, nor the mass of nebulous philosophy put forth under these pseudonyms: it is unlikely that the Irish historians knew or cared anything about such matters. We may however suggest that a section of genealogy has been provided by this entry. Our compilers and scribes make extraordinary muddles of the Oriental names which they copy from Eusebius or his editor; and it would, for them, be a very trivial blunder to turn *Tat mac Herme(t)s Trismegist* into *Tat mac Her m Estris m Egist*, and this, when the influence of analogical formation got to work upon it, would slip with very little difficulty into *Tat mac Sera mic Sru mic Esru*. Reference to ¶ 99 (vol. i, p. 162) shows that "Ogamain m. Boamain m. Eber Scuit," which separate Tat and Sera in the texts before us, are interpolations.

In both texts *Noemius* becomes *Nemi* in the genitive case, once more indicating translation from a Latin original. In printing these names I have omitted quantity-marks, even over vowels which might reasonably be presumed to be long, to avoid all appearance of arbitrarily meddling with the text.

Serious criticism of this naïve example of manufactured history would be an impertinence, but it may be worth passing notice that the historians have made the invading combatants two generations later than the Scythian defenders. Boamain is in the sixth generation after Feinius: his Scythian successor Noemius in the fourth.

111. (= R³ ¶ 158). Here *Q seems to preserve the proper form of the sentence *is lia tuirim*, which has been mutilated by the loss of some words both in L and in F.

The sentence about the hands of Lamfhind reads like a glossarial interpolation, and I feel no doubt that it is so. It must however be very old, for it appears in all the mss., and also in the poems.

The sentence about the coupling between the ships is mutilated in both mss. of Min.

112. (= R³ ¶ 159). Here *Q gives by far the best copy of the paragraph. F comes next, but is spoilt by the careless *conerbuilt* for *condebairt*.

The geographical notions in this and similar itineraries are obviously valueless artificial inventions; it may be said in general that their inventors borrowed the place-names which they used more or less at random, chiefly if not entirely from the geographical prolegomena to the *History* of Orosius. In my book *Ancient Ireland* (p. 84) I have shown that the *fact* of a long voyage may be based upon general historical reminiscence, though no importance can be allowed to the details of the narrative.

The soporific fountain is certainly borrowed from an incident in the legend of the *Voyage of Brendan*: see Schröder, *Sanct Brandan*, p. 18; Waters, *Anglo-Norman Voyage of St. Brendan*, p. 42.

113. (= R³ ¶ 160). *Q shows that *Glas* (miswritten *Glunfind* in L) is glossarial. The mistake of L is not very serious, as all the Ebers, Februi, Febri are doubtless multiples of one personality. The appended explanatory matter in Min is a quite unnecessary interpolation, as all the facts which it contains have already been set forth: the glossator has forgotten this. The excerpt must come from another source, in which *Ibath* was substituted for *Nenual* as the name of the son of Baath.

The explanation of Eber's nickname, like that of Lamfhind's, appears to be a very early gloss.

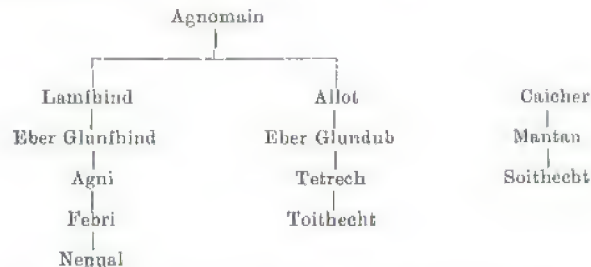
114. (= R³ ¶ 161). The long genealogy with which this ¶ begins runs down the margin of L, but within the edge of

the column of writing: an intermediate stage between the glossarial form, outside the column of writing, and the complete incorporation in the text which we find in F and R³. The text of *Q is once more the best.

The geographical interpolation in Min, which has ousted the very modest itinerary in LF*Q, is of unusual length for an addition to that normally succinct version. The jumble of names is identified so far as possible in the translation, and with one exception needs no further comment: namely, the difficult *Narbo scorda*, if this is to be treated as a geographical proper name, like the other stages in the route. As it apparently lies between Albania and the Bosporus, it is presumably (though not necessarily!) somewhere in the Balkan peninsula. The Scardus Mountains naturally suggest themselves, but there is nothing about them to account for "Narbo." The city called Sarmizegethusa in Dacia, afterwards more manageably named Colonia Ulpia, could also conceivably lie behind the word under discussion. A further clue might be offered by Narbo (= Narbonne), forty miles south of which town were people called Sordones or Sordi: but to call in the aid of these names would make the geography of the passage more unintelligible than ever. Naturally I have considered the possibility of treating the word as predicative, *nar bo scorda* "that was not . . ." cut, or enclosed, or delimited, or ploughed, or something of the kind; but this expedient is not satisfactory. There I leave the question; there may be some, perhaps quite simple, explanation which does not happen to have occurred to me. I retain the name *Torrian*, recognising its ambiguity ("Tyrrhene" or "Mediterranean") which the context is powerless to resolve. Crete is repeated by some oversight. The *Sab* ("strong") Islands are the Fortunate Islands (= Canaries); the name has arisen from a confusion between *fortis* and *fortunatus*, encountered in some Latin text. I have failed to hit upon an identification for "the swamp called *Coir*."

115. (= R³ ¶ 162). The compound *Gäedel-töisech* in F*QMin, artificially emended in L, has probably arisen from a gloss. Some one noted *Gäedel* (gen. pl.) above the word *töisech* in his copy of the ms. There is a further corruption toward the end of the paragraph. We are told of "two

grandsons" in joint rule: but actually three persons are mentioned. If we set out the names, as we find them, in genealogical form,



we see, first, that Nenuai is a *great-grandson* of the ancestor from whom he is derived; and, secondly, that the assonantal names, Toithecht and Soithecht (compare Ocee and Ucee) were almost certainly intended to be in close association.

The genealogy has become so disjointed that it cannot be restored with certainty, though it is tempting to suggest the following as the original form—



excluding Nenuai altogether. Presumably the name of Tetrech, which in a measure rhymes with the corresponding Febri, is borrowed from that of the usurper Tetricus (267–274 A.D.).

116. (= R³ ¶ 163–4). Only for a few slight differences, chiefly orthographical, we might have supposed that R³ based his text on F, so closely does his version approximate to that MS. But they are enough to make it clear that we must still continue to postulate *Q as the source of these two paragraphs in R³. The genealogical matter is evidently intrusive in all MSS. The Tuscans and the Lombards we know, though it is surprising to find them in Spain. The Barchu, who appear in a variety of spellings, are less easy to identify. Barchino (= Barcelona) suggests itself; it is also not impossible that

the word is an old error for Barchu, and that the people intended were the Vascones, in the western end of the Pyrenees. But on the whole it is most probable that the corruption is more deeply seated than appears at first sight, and that in the Barchu, Langobardi, and Toiseno of LG we are to see the Vaccae, Celtiberi, and Oretani, the three peoples of Spain mentioned by Orosius (I, ii. 74).

117. (= R³ ¶ 165). It is a quaint fact that Breogan's Tower has evolved into "Tor mac Breoghuin, king of Spain" in the late romance called *Cath Finntrágha*.

Second Redaction.

118–125. (= R³ 143–150). This long *pericope* is no part of the original text of R², and it confuses the narrative. It is a scholastic invention, designed to glorify the Gaelic ancestry by bringing them more closely into connexion with Moses. It is not found in ED; it probably was not in R, but it certainly was in Δ , as stichometry shows that the text of Δ was as closely identical with V in its lost leaves as it is in the extant portion. It was also contained in \sqrt{P} , but sP never got very far in copying it. V therefore is now our only authority for the text in R²; but it was also taken into R³, where it occupies ¶ 143–150; from which we infer that the interpolation was contained in ∞ R³'s MS. of R² (*W). This had on the whole a slightly better text than the version which we find in V. Thus, in ¶ 118, V has admitted an absurd gloss making Aaron brother of Abraham. A necessary sentence (*ō rānig docham . . . fadnuise in tslōig*) has been lost from V in the beginning of ¶ 119, but is preserved in R³, in ¶ 144. But in general the differences are trivial.

Capacirunt, Capaciroth: also written in two words, *Capa Cirunt*. The two forms are used in this paragraph in both redactions, the one at the beginning, the other in the middle. The second form is preferable, the first being a corruption. Clearly the place intended is the (unidentified) Pi-Hahiroth of Exodus xiv. 2. This our historians have divided into *Piha Hiroth*, the h's have become gutturals, and in some way the syllables of the first member of the word have become

reversed. There is a possible touch of perverted scholarship in the identification of Pi-Hahiroth with an "estate." The writer of the story seems to have looked up the Septuagint text, where the name of the place is rendered, not as a proper name, but by the words ἀπέναντι τῆς ἐπουόλειος, "in front of the farm-stead."¹ There is an abstract of this story in Liber Flavus Fergusiorum (43 αβ) in which the place appears as *Capaciroth*.

Foillsi fadnuise is a glossarial ejaculation, which early entered the text, for its confusion.

119. The explanation of the name of Gaedel Glas, like all such explanations, is glossarial.

Cēt lem-sa and similar expressions are almost invariably jussive, not permissive, in sense, and should be so translated.

The immunity of the descendants of Gaedel Glas from serpent-bites is undoubtedly totemistic in origin: for parallels see Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, vol. ii, p. 456.

120. This ¶ makes it clear that the preceding ¶, with the story of the serpent, is an interpolation: it is therefore so indicated in the printed text. The present paragraph follows on naturally with the end of ¶ 118, where Nel has put provisions at the disposal of the Israelites. Moreover in the R⁰ version the interlocutor continues to be *Aaron*. In R² he has been changed to Moses, owing to the influence of the preceding story. This is a natural change to take place, but the contrary is not; we therefore infer that *Aaron* was the original speaker. There is a further interpolation at the end of the ¶ in the mss. of R³, which is an attempt to explain how the ships came to be at the disposal of the Israelites at all: a problem solved otherwise by K, from whom we learn unambiguously that they stole them! This insertion has been further complicated by the taking into the text of a marginal query: "[*cid*] ar na bertais Meic Israhel fein leo cena na longa sin?"—a reader's natural question "Why did not the Israelites use these ships themselves?": along with a later reader's not very illuminating reply.

121. There is no Biblical authority for the numbers of

¹ The actual meaning of the Hebrew word is quite uncertain.

Pharaoh's army that was drowned. These statistics are most probably glossarial: they vary in different versions. That the sea was divided *i ndiaid* "in the wake of" the people has arisen from a confusion of ideas—a mixture of the sea opening *before* the Israelites and the Egyptian host pursuing and coming to grief *behind* them. Compare ¶ 150, which contains a gloss showing a more intelligent grasp of the situation.

122. The theory that Nel's descendants remained for three generations in Egypt after the catastrophe to Pharaoh contradicts the story of R¹, and indeed contradicts that of the versions of R² which are not contaminated by this interpolation. According to these, the exodus from Egypt took place immediately after the catastrophe.

123. A list of Egyptian kings will be found in Section VIII. This enumerates five kings between "Cineris" and Tures or "Tuir," in order Cerres, Armades, Rameses, Amenoses, Amenomes. These names are borrowed (and mutilated) from Eusebius. Cerres = Akherres and his successor Kherres, who may be Tutankhamun and his successor Kheper-kheperu-ari-maat-ra. Armadis = Armais, that is Hor-em-heb, the king with whom the eighteenth dynasty came to an end, c. 1321 B.C. Rameses (the Eusebian Remesses) may be either the first or the second of the numerous kings who bore that name. Amenoses (= Menophes) is most likely Merneptah, and Amenomes (= Amenophes, but here out of his proper place in the Eusebian canon) is presumably Amenmeses. Tures or Tuir, whom our present narrator apparently supposes to have been the immediate successor of Cineris, was actually the ninth in succession after Smenkhka-ra, and was not a king at all, but a queen, the Thuores of Eusebius and the Ta-wosret of the Egyptian records, whose *floruit* was in the last quarter of the thirteenth century B.C.

"Nectenibus," that is Nectanebus II (Nekht-neb-ef in the Egyptian records) was the last native king of Egypt.

Probably *Ocus ba Forand . . . Nectenibus* and *ocus ba ar cūis . . . riu-son sin-sen* are the two halves of a marginal gloss which has been intruded, suffering dismemberment in the process. One of the two alternative enumerations of the

intervening kings is certainly a reader's correction in some ancestral ms.; the text of R³ gives reason to believe that in this case it is the first of the alternatives which is to be so rejected: see the note on ¶ 148.

124. *Ō ro batar co brēn*, i.e., after they had recovered from the catastrophe in the Red Sea.

125. On this ¶, and its relation to its present context, see the note on ¶ 108 above.

126. This brief summary of the contest in Scythia appears in R³ at ¶ 152. See above, notes to ¶ 110. Note that in this version Refloir is not son of Rifill, but of "Nema" or Noemius, who is his grandfather in the other texts. Taprobane (= Ceylon) is the only geographical term introduced into the itinerary with which we have not yet met.

127. We evidently have here a story parallel to that of Nel and his descendants. The two voyages follow much the same route: both introduce an Egyptian king as patron, and an Egyptian princess called Scota. The marriage of Mil to the Scythian princess Seng is unknown to ∞ R² or to any of his interpolators.

128. Nekht-neb-ef, the personage called Nectanebus II, was the last native king of Egypt, as has been mentioned above. It is true that he was driven from his kingdom and fled to Ethiopia: his conqueror was not, however, Alexander the Great, but Artaxerxes Ochus, B.C. 350. Alexandria was founded by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C. It is needless to say that Scota II, daughter of Nectanebus, is as mythical—or rather as fictitious, for "mythical" implies at least the existence of a tradition—as her namesake and doublet, Scota I daughter of Cineris. The word is merely the feminine of *Scotus*, and is one more grain of evidence that this artificial history in its earliest form wore a Latin dress.

129. It is safe to remove *γ ni huamun . . . gabūil do* from the text as glossarial: it refers to nothing else in the history, and indeed contradicts the antecedent story, in the present form of the document, that this promise had been made by Moses. Evidently it is the jotting of some patriot, jealous for the honour of his mythical ancestor. Keating

refers it to the prophecy of Caicher at the Rhipaeen mountain: this, however, cannot be justified, as that event does not appear in the antecedents of the story in the present version—another interesting illustration of the critical worthlessness of a composite eclectic text. The *γ* at the beginning of this interpolation should probably, as so frequently, be corrected to *i*. The words *in lín cētna* have no grammatical connexion with the context, and are also glossarial.

The end of this ¶ is redactional and harmonistic. Originally the two Scotas were one, set in different stories, but both contrived to give a name for the origin of the Scots. When they were blended into one composite story, Scota I, wife of Nel, had the chronological pre-eminence (to say nothing of Riphath Scot and Eber Scot); so that Scota II, wife of Mil, could no longer claim any eponymous significance. The redactor therefore ingeniously "turns the tables" upon her, and tells us that so far from her descendants deriving their name from her, she took her own name from her husband's people. A blundering glossator of H borrows this comment, but applies it to Scota I, thus dethroning her from her eponymy: see below, ¶ 137.

130. We remove *for in Muir immechtrach* and *seōlad sē samlāithi*, as their intrusion disturbs the text.

Inill aro nī ansem de is not necessarily mere learned nonsense, like the gibberish sentences peppered through the apocryphon called *Tenga Bithnūa*, though naturally the explanation given of it is futile. It helps to keep up Caicher's character as a druid to put enigmatical utterances into his mouth, and the compiler may quite possibly have adapted some traditional "word of power" for the purpose. The difference between the formula as presented in the text of V and in the associated gloss indicates that the words, such as they are, are corrupt. They are not found in R³, but reappear in K, one of many indications that K, while borrowing from R¹ and R³, based most of his work on R². The phrase is given in *Auraicept na n-Ēces* as an example of *Bérta Fortchidi* ("obscure language"): see Calder's edition, lines 1323, 4640.

The itinerary in this and the following ¶, which greatly

elaborates the simpler route set forth in R¹ ¶ 111, seems to show an attempt to lay down a route in the shape of a vast spiral. It starts from Egypt, passes through the Red Sea, round Asia, south, east, and north, into and out of the Caspian Sea, on through the straits of Gibraltar, past the north coast of Africa, through the Black Sea, on to the North Cape, and thence, 300 years thereafter, to Ireland: in a further random wandering, through Southern Europe and the Mediterranean Islands (¶ 131). There may be some idea of "luck" underlying this roundabout course, but the left-hand-wise direction is not favourable to any such esoteric explanation. The source and extent of the knowledge of the outer world among the native historians of Ireland would offer matter for a separate monograph: we must here confine ourselves to a few points. It is not clear whether *Clochaigi* is meant to denote a special part of Seythia (compare *Arabia Petraea*) or is a mere reference to the general *inopia* of the country (emphasized by Orosius III, xiii, 7). The author believes with Strabo (VII, ii, 4, etc.) that the Caspian was an inlet of the Northern Ocean, not a closed inland lake. The transference of the Sirens to that sea is a bold stroke of originality! The Libyan Sea is between Crete and Cyrenaica: Coronis is the Cyraunis of Herodotus, identified with the little island of Cercina off the Libyan Coast: the Pontic Sea is the Euxine. *Trē-villech*, the stock epithet for Spain, comes from the *Hispania trigona* of Orosius (I, ii, 69).

If Bregunt in ¶ 131 is here correctly identified with Burgundia, the authority followed by our historian for the name will scarcely be older than the sixth century. Before that time it is the people (*Burgundiones*), rather than the territory, which appears in literature.

132. Compare R¹ ¶ 116, from which it will be seen that the number of battles has increased from 3 to 54, and that the Tuscans have turned into Frisians!

Third Reduction.

134. On this ¶ see the note to ¶ 103.

135. ∞ R² has evidently considered the preceding ¶ as belonging to § I: this present paragraph is his "chapter-

heading" of § II. It maintains the Magog version of the genealogy.

136. This entire ¶ is glossarial. Its nucleus is evidently a marginal genealogy of Feinius Farsaid, in some early MS. of R². This being taken into the text received the further gloss *is hē imorro . . . Tur Neamrūaid*, which was probably still glossarial in √BMII. It was taken into the text in ∞ B and ∞ M, but in ∞ H it remained glossarial, to be combined later with the text at the end of the long insertion in that tradition. This insertion consists primarily of R² ¶ 16, taken practically as we find it in V, with but one difference (*ochtmad* for *sixed*, doubtless the result of a misreading of a numeral sign: and if the matter is of any importance at all, the R² version has a greater claim to correctness). The glossarial interpolation *Is follus . . . tuc Scotie on Tur* in ¶ 16 was also taken over, and with it was incorporated the R² gloss about the learning of Feinius (with a further interpolation, *ba so-gradaigi*). But it became separated from its original context when another hand inserted a list of the eight leaders of the Tower-builders. This differs from the more extensive lists in *Auraicept* and has some additional particulars, such as the statement that Peleg was the ancestor of the Indians, a "fact" which the compilers apparently ascertained from *Ser Aetates Mundi*. There is an interesting suggestion of a reminiscence of the lost Irish *Genesis* which we have been endeavouring to reconstruct, in the description of Nimrod as a hunter "opposed to" the Lord. This arises ultimately from the familiar Hebrew idiom which says "a mighty hunter before the Lord," meaning no more than "a very mighty hunter indeed." The Irish perversion can hardly have arisen from the Vulgate version of this phrase (*coram Domino*), but might very well have been induced by a pardonable misunderstanding of the LXX (*ἐναντίον Κυρίου*). The hand of the conscientious Translator whom we have isolated seems here, for the last time, to be recognisable.

The ancestry given for Latinus is a desperate piece of harmonistic redacting. Faunus was actually son of Picus, and Italus had nothing to do with his ancestry, any more than "Alainus" with whom he is identified. The identification of

Rifath Seot with Fenius Farsaid in one place, and the latter being reckoned as sixteenth in descent from Rifath in another, and, at the end, his specification as one of the sixteen of Rifath's progeny at the Tower, are collectively further interesting attempts at reconciling irreconcilables.

137. The MB version is practically identical with R¹ ¶ 104 except for a few interpolations, duly marked in the printed text. We have already noted the taking in of the Nimrod genealogy into the wrong place out of the margin: see above, notes to ¶ 103. Except for this, the only important interpolation is *Phostoiyes* in M (not in B) after the name of Pharaoh. This same name appears later in an interpolation in the same ms. (see below, ¶ 140, critical note ⁽¹⁸⁾) in the form Pharao Istoiyes, and evidently represents a peculiar idea of √M as to the personality of the Pharaoh of the Exodus. Nothing that can reasonably be identified with this name can be found among the perversions of Pharaonic names recorded by Manetho and Eusebius; it must be a vague recollection of *Pastores*, the "Shepherd Kings," to whom Eusebius assigns 103 years (30th year of Jacob to 12th year of Joseph), ending 212 years before the Red Sea catastrophe.

H substitutes a fuller version of Pharaoh's message, derived from R² ¶ 18, plus the interpolation on Seota already commented upon under ¶ 129, and a chronological extract from the glossarial matter in R² ¶ 17.

138. This is R¹ ¶ 105, copied with some mistakes, on which see the notes on ¶ 105. The principal variant is the chronological discrepancy at the beginning (40 or 42 years in R¹, 52 in R³).

139. A chronological interpolation in H derived from R² ¶ 17. The conclusion of this ¶ has entered the text of H in the previous ¶, showing that it was a marginal comment in ²/H, copied from a ms. of R², and accidentally or otherwise bisected. We have already seen illustrations of this process of dispartition. The only critical contribution which the text makes is that *mac Anaciss* and *Lavinia*, which as E ¶ 17 shows us were glossarial, have now become established in the text. Once again "six" is corrected to "eight" as the number of the leaders at the Tower.

140. Here ∞ R³ has for the moment abandoned his scissors and pastepot, and taken up his pen to write a composite paragraph, not found in the two preceding redactions. The first sentence (as is shown by the word *leas*) he takes from R² ¶ 118. He then goes back to R¹ ¶ 106 for the particulars about Nel's marriage to Seota and the birth of Gaedel Glas, though without slavishly following the words of his authority. Then he gives the quatrain *Fēne ō Fheiniús*; either he himself, or a later hand, has inserted the prose paraphrase which precedes it in the present text.

141. This is one of the peculiar interpolations which are frequent in M. The "Scythian" origin of the name of the Scots is favoured by the author of this paragraph. I have not discovered its source.

142. To the list of languages as given by Min, the redactor appended this grammatical paragraph (see above, note headed ¶ 107 A). It was an unusual proceeding on his part: he is more accustomed to prune Min than to farce it; and he must have attached special importance to it. *W must have included Min, as well as the long Nel-Moses pericope at the beginning of this section: and from this ∞ R³ took over the paragraph and inserted it where we find it.

To discuss the contents of the paragraph itself at length would be outside our present scope; and in any case it is of no importance, for it was clearly brought to its present form by arbitrary philomaths, before it became included in the LG text. It originally began by being an enumeration of the four parts of grammar (orthography, accidence, syntax, and prosody): reasonable enough, if elementary. This was overlaid by some glossator, who (impressed by the number "four") quoted, evidently without knowing anything of the nature of their contents, four important but quite irrelevant law tracts. Orthography then suggested a reference to various forms of secret writing, enumerated (but without any illuminating explanations) in *Auraicept na n-Ēces*.²

²This document would have to be in constant reference if we had any excuse for introducing an exhaustive discussion of the matter before us.

Of grammar ('accidence') we are given puerilities about its being "a rudder of correct speech" and its "excellent knowledge." Syntax, or composition, suggests a mention of the standard stories which the professional historians were supposed to know; and for prosody another old and apparently lost law-tract is quoted, again with no knowledge of its origin, or of the nature of its contents. The statements of these scribblers call for no more serious consideration than that of a schoolboy who told an acquaintance of mine, in answering a "general knowledge" paper, that "the Book of Kells contains thousands of poems relating the secret history of the Irish people."

The number "four" reappears in the four principal languages, and in the four names of Gaelic. These names, along with the incomprehensible "Goirithigern," applied to antediluvian Hebrew, and, indeed, the whole paragraph which contains them, are admirable examples of the artificial pedantry with which these ancient charlatans, unequipped with any real learning, contrived to maintain their prestige.

The four names of Gaelic are not so mysterious as they appear to be: they have evidently been adapted unintelligently from some old glossary. Gaelic was, we are told, gleaned or collected from the other languages. *Tionól* is Irish for "a gathering" or "an assembly," and *tionóltach* is a factitious adjective derived from this word. *Legulus* is a late Latin word meaning "a gatherer" of fruit, applied especially to one who gleaned fallen olives. *לִקְטָה*, *l-q-t*, are the radical letters of the Hebrew words which bear the sense of "gleaning." *תִּלְקֹת* *t-l-qq-t* (omitting the vowel-points) occurs three times in *Ruth*, chap. ii, meaning "she gleaned." From the backward spelling of the Tetragrammaton in poem V, l. 96, we learn to read any Hebrew words, that may appear in our texts, from left to right—i.e., backward from the Hebrew point of view: and evidently this word, culled from a glossary, read backwards, and fitted arbitrarily with vowels, has produced the word *Ticcoloth*. As for *Moloth*, the "Greek" name for Gaelic, if we write *συλλογή*, the word which naturally suggests itself in this connexion, in capital letters: thus, ΣΥΛΛΟΓΗ: we see without difficulty how this could evolve into MOLOTH (the first *lambda* being read as A, and the resultant UA reduced to O).

Goirithigern, which doubtless has nothing to do with the personal name more familiar in the form *Vortigern*, must be left in its obscurity. It suggests vaguely some such meaning as "the call" or "the voice" "of Lords" or "of the Lord"—a name not inappropriate for the speech of Paradise, celestial and terrestrial, in the days of innocence. The name might conceivably have been suggested by the hymn to "The Voice of the Lord" (= thunder), Psalm xxix (Vulgate xxviii).

The version of the story of the formation of Gaelic, substituted by H for the early part of this paragraph, makes Feinius the inventor of Gaelic, not Gaedil, as the rest of the paragraph maintains.

143. Here begins the extract which R³ has made from the V version of R². The chief differences in R³ are orthographical and insignificant; but the report of the interview between Nel and Aaron is slightly fuller in R³. Comparison of the two versions reveals a few glossarial intrusions in both texts, duly marked in the proper place.

144. = R² 119. R³ here preserves an unmutated text. The opening sentence, missing in R², and (less certainly) the statement that the injured boy was carried to Moses at the suggestion of Nel's household, appear to be original, not intrusive. But "Succoth" is perhaps intrusive: this was a camping place *before* the Israelites moved to Pi-Hahiroth (Ex. xiv. 2), and there is no reason why it should be mentioned here.

145. = R² 120. On the appended gloss to this paragraph see note to ¶ 120. This apart, the two versions run parallel except for slight verbal changes.

146. = R² 121. We need notice only that a too-hasty glossator has thrown the first sentence into confusion by inserting *Nel*; and that *W must have had the same curious mistake as the extant ms., in making the division of the Red Sea *behind* the Israelites.

147. = R² 122. We remove *im muir Rūaidh*, which is unknown to R², as an unnecessary gloss.

148. = R² 123. The omission in M of the words *in cūiced ri trichat no* is an indication that (contrary to what we

should *a priori* have expected) the first, not the second, of these alternatives is the glossarial interpolation. It has therefore been so marked in the printed text of R².

149. = R² 124, with no difference but an insignificant interpolation.

150. = R² 125. Comparison between the two texts enables us to remove from R² *γ a mac .i. Eber Scot* as glossarial, (borrowed from R¹ ¶ 109) the plurals following being harmonistic changes. On the other hand, in R³, *mac Easrū meic Gāedhūl* must be an interpolation. So, perhaps, is *ō ra bāithead . . . Israhel*, which contradicts the assumption of the pericope before us, that the family remained in Egypt for at least three generations after the catastrophe in the Red Sea. The mention of the names of the sons of Mil at the end of the ¶ is also glossarial.

151. ∞ R³ now returns to R¹, to take over the account of the departure from Egypt, and then returns to R², whence he extracts the itinerary of the voyage and the fighting for the crown of Seythia (including the slaying of Refloir by *Mil*) as it appears in R² ¶ 126, omitting the chronological note at the end. The end of the paragraph from *Imtūsa Srū* is a return to R¹; but it has fallen into a certain amount of confusion, as comparison between the two texts will show. The clumsy *Imtūsa Srū*, meaningless in its present context, is redactional. It indicates that the account of the voyage was borrowed from R² by the original compiler, and was not an introduced gloss which had produced subsequent dispartition of the extract from R¹: they are the words of an editor, who having turned aside from authority A for a moment to cut something out of authority B, goes back to A with words equivalent to, "To return to what we were saying . . ." There would have been no such link if the paragraph had merely been cut in two by an intrusive glossator.

The redactor has not taken the trouble to correct R²'s parentage of Refloir ("Nema" or Noemius instead of Refill): and he has introduced a mistake of his own in the Seythian genealogy. Nenual I was son, and Nenual II great-grandson of Feinius: the grandson of that patriarch was Baath.

152. R³ takes the beginning of this ¶ from R¹, ¶ 110, but for the actual account of the fighting between the claimants for the Seythian crown he has gone to some independent source. This is not R², though it has affinity with the brief description of the war in R² ¶ 126: especially in ascribing the slaying of Refloir to Mil, not to Agnomain as in R¹. It is, however, fuller, and enlightens us as to the kinship existing between Mil and Refloir through the lady Seng, of whom we should not otherwise have heard in this place. There must have been a large number of such inventions hammered out by the ancient "historians." The amount of genuine traditional material underlying them was small: they smell of the lamp; perhaps they were never meant to be more than the equivalents of a modern "historical romance" which, however, later uncritical compilers found and took seriously. There does not seem to be the slightest indication of a source from which these successions of names could have been obtained. Refill may be of Scandinavian origin: the name appears as that of a sword in *Skáldskaparmál* (Pros. Edda, ed. Wilken, p. 116) and *Rafls hestr*—"Rævil's steed"—is a kenning for "a ship" (Ræfil being the name of a sea-lord) in the Western Volsung-lay (Vigfusson and Powell, *Corpus Poet. Boreale*, i, p. 156). This may give some indication of whence the germ of these ideas of an eastern European dynasty came; but the story itself is mere invention. On the other hand some hints (indicated in the introduction to the following section of this compilation) may possibly point to a mythological germ at the heart of the narrative.

153. Apparently based on R² ¶ 128, but both are more probably taken and re-modelled from a common source. The differences are too great to allow us to regard it as one of R³'s ordinary borrowings. "Fornecchtenibus" has evidently evolved at some stage of the tradition from an abbreviation For(and) Necht.; "Forand" has then been inserted by a later scribe.

154. R³ now returns unmistakably to R² and borrows ¶ 129, omitting the last sentence. The passage has acquired

some additional accretions. B has made a mistake which might have occurred more frequently, writing *Forann* for *ferann*.

155. This itinerary comes from another source: the geographical names are corrupt and obscure. *Indniam* (where we once more see a Latin accusative) is presumably India, but it might be the river Indus. In *Cirord*, remembering that *c* before *i* is pronounced soft in such names, I am inclined to identify the land of the Seres or Chinese. *Golgardoma* may be the city of Palibothra, which is situated on the Ganges (*Gaind*). *Sliab Coguaist* is usually identified with the Caucasus, but here it may conceivably mean the Hindukush mountains. I can give no reasonable identification for *Ithia* and the river *Boria*. *Ocus anaid mi innte* is marked as a gloss, as it clearly comes illogically before the following words. It is evident that after the itinerary, which has ousted the R² version, the tale of the Sirens was borrowed from R²: but this has been upset by a too-eager glossator, who as usual wrote the story in his own words without waiting to see whether the document had it already.

The interpolator had a capricious memory, which played him false in three respects. He imagined that the device of stopping the ears was a usual custom; he forgot the name of the man who suggested it in the case under discussion (this is supplied by the context, but he overlooked it); and he made an odd mistake about the material used to shut out the music.

The new form of the story ousted the old. The tale of the Amazons is a fresh importation into the story. It probably existed as a Latin gloss in √MBH, as only independent translation from a common source would account for the essential similarity but verbal divergence between the versions of B and M.

The details as to the manners of the Amazons are a commonplace of Classical tradition, and may have reached the Irish compilers through Isidore (*Etym.*, IX, ii, 64). Amazons were said to have been established in many regions (see the particulars collected in Roscher, or any other dictionary of Classical Mythology): but I have not discovered the source of the statement that there were 32 clans of them. There is

a corruption in B, due probably to a rubbed line of writing in √B. The words *-dis a congeindtleacht conad anflaith* correspond to *-ed a ndibraici umpu*. *Ocus* is *ē lin* in M, and are of about the same length, but they make neither reasonable sense nor grammar with the context. The reading of M should be substituted.

156. This much-expanded story of the wanderings of Mil comes from a source other than the previous redactions. Most noteworthy is the episode of the Cruithne, told to account for the Gaedil and the Cruithne living together in the same country. It might be an adaptation of the story of Moses and Nel (or *vice versa*?). In both cases there are two sets of wanderers seeking a territory, and in both cases an invitation is given by the one company to the other to share the land which they expect to occupy. But recalling the parallel which we have already drawn between *Liber Occupationis* and the narrative of the Israelites, we can hardly regard it as doubtful that the story of Joshua and the Gibeonites (*Jos.* ix, 3 ff.) was at the back of the compiler's mind. It is left ambiguous whether it was by the Cruithne or by Mil that the invitation was given: possibly the former was at first preferred and, indeed, constituted a sort of title-deed to the lands of the Cruithne in favour of the Gaedil. Later developments, as we shall see hereafter, favoured the second alternative. According to Isidore (*Etym.*, XIV, iii, 3) Alania was the territory between the Maeotic Marshes and Dacia. "Druim Sait" is *Saltus Castulonensis*, the eastern part of the Sierra Morena. The situation attributed to *Farus* (aliter *Forus*) suggests identification with the Pyrenees.

157. A few prefatory words introduce another extract from *Q, with which this part of R³ closes. The version in R¹ will be found at the end of ¶ 110.

158. = R¹ (*Q) ¶ 111. The text has suffered slightly in transcription, as comparison will show. The variants are of no critical importance.

159. = *Q ¶ 112. The same observation applies to this also.

160. = *Q ¶ 113. Note the omission of Gl[as] after the name Febri, though this is found in F.

161. = *Q ¶ 114, which closely resembles the F version, as usual.

162. = *Q ¶ 115, which again corresponds to F in what it contains and omits. The genealogy is corrupted to the extent of making Febri son of Agno[mai]n, instead of the different person Agni; and as in the previous paragraphs there are one or two other minor deviations.

163. = *Q ¶ 116. Once more the text is very close to F, even in the loss of the "fourteen wedded couples" who were in the ships along with the seven hirelings: this must have been missing in √*QF. The genealogies have become badly mixed in this present version of the text.

164. = *Q ¶ 116, latter half.

165. = *Q ¶ 117, with several corruptions. The dating of the discovery of Ireland to Samain eve is a new interpolation.

The List of Languages.

It is obvious on the surface that this so-called list of languages is essentially a much-corrupted list of names of places, or rather of population-centres; and it is not necessary to seek far for its source. The names have all been extracted from the description of the world and its geography in Isidore (*Etym.*, book XIV). The geographical order of Isidore, and any possible genealogical order (indicating the distribution of the names among the descendants of the three sons of Noah) have been abandoned in favour of a metrical order: for mnemonic purposes the list must have been put into verse form, in which considerations of alliteration and rhyme dominate all others, immediately after it had been drawn up. This cannot have taken place long after Isidore's compilation became available in Ireland; for we find the list, in an imperfect form, in two seventh-century poems published by Kuno Meyer, which in the present note we shall call Y and Z.³ It appears, again in an imperfect form, in

³"Über die älteste irische Dichtung" (*Abh. der Königl. Preuss. Akad. der Wiss.* 1913). The poems begin *Enna, Labraid* (Y) at p. 27, and *Cū cen mǫthair* (Z) at p. 53, of Meyer's publication.

the set of quatrains here published as poem no. XI (in the present note called V, i.e., *verse*). The full list appears also in *Auraicept na n-Ēces*, in two texts (Ballymote, here called E, ed. Calder, pp. 16, 18, and Yellow Book of Lecan, here called A, ed. Calder, p. 179) which differ not inconsiderably between themselves and from the version in the prose LG (in the present note called P, i.e., *prose*).⁴ All these six Irish versions of the list have to be collated in order to establish the identifications of the names.

In the following summary, variants of spelling within the LG texts, which can be ascertained from the tables in the proper place, are disregarded, except in so far as they indicate the most probable version of the respective names to be adopted. The order of the names is as in P; the small figures denote the numerical position of the names in the other lists. The names in italics are those in Isidore, references to chapter and section of book XIV (ed. Lindsay) being added. The omission of a name from any list is indicated by *om.*

There are 65 names in the list in Y, 56 in Z, 65 in V, 61 in A and 72 in E. They are much corrupted, and many of them defy certain identification. There also appear to be some doublets, in which the same name appears in different forms.

The original list appears to have been nothing more than a catalogue of the principal countries, for an aid in geographical study, and without any *arrière pensée* of attaching it to the Flood or to the Babel story. There was thus no motive for making the number 73 exactly; and it is therefore unnecessary to assume with Meyer that any of the strophes of the early verse lists are missing (*op. cit.*, p. 27). It was only when the grammarians appropriated the lists that the number 73, to correspond with the number of the peoples descended from the diluvian patriarchs, and that of the languages dispersed at the Tower of Babel, became

⁴Another version of the list will be found in the document correctly described by Scaliger as *Excerpta utilissima ex priore libro chronologico Eusebii etc. latine conversa ab homine barbaro, inepto, hellenismi et latinitatis imperitissimo* (Scaliger's ed. of the *Chronicle of Eusebius*, 1606, part ii, p. 44 ff.).

indispensable; and it was attained by heroic interpolations. The most curious of these are the three "languages" appended to the lists in M and H, to which attention is called in a footnote. These three absurdities are necessary to the lists in question, as, owing to the loss of certain items, they could not otherwise have made up the required number.

1. Beithin: Bethin Y¹ Bithin Z¹ Bethin V¹ Beithin A¹
Beithin E¹: *Bithynia* (3. 41)
2. Seitin: Seithin Y² Seithin Z² Seithin V² Sgeithin A²
Seitli E²: *Scythia* (3. 31)
3. 'Seill: Seill Y³ Scill Z³ Seill V³ Sgill A¹² Sieil E⁶: *Cilicia*
(3. 45)
4. Scartin: Scarthaig Y⁵ Scarthin Z⁵ Scartain V⁴ Ircair A¹¹
Hireain E⁷: *Hyrkania* (3. 33)
5. Guit: Gothia Y⁷ Guith Z⁷ Guth V⁵ Goith A⁴⁵ Guit E⁸:
Gothia (3. 31)
6. Greic: Grëic Y⁶ Grëic Z⁶ Grec V⁸ om. A om. E: *Graecia*
(4. 7)
7. Germain: Germāin Y⁹ Germāin Z⁹ Germain V⁷ Germain
A⁴ Germain E⁴: *Germania* (4. 3)
8. Gaill: Gaill Y⁸ Gaill Z⁸ Gaill V⁸ Gaill A⁵ Gailli E¹³:
Gallia (4. 25)
9. Poimp: Point Y¹⁰ Poimp Z¹⁰ Paimp V⁹ Point A⁹ Point
E⁹: *Pentapolis* (3. 24)
10. Frigia: Frig Y⁴⁸ Frig Z⁴⁷ Frigia V¹⁰ om. A om. E:
Phrygia (3. 41)
11. Caispia: om. Y om. Z Caspia V²¹ om. A om. E:
Cappadocia^(a) (3. 38)
12. Dardain: Dardāin Y⁵⁷ Dardāin Z⁵⁴ Dardain V¹² Dardain
A⁵⁵ Dordain E⁶⁶: *Dardania*^(b) (3. 41)
13. Pampil: Pampil Y¹¹ Pampil Z¹¹ Poimpil V¹³ Paimpil A⁷
Paimpil E¹⁴: *Pamphylia* (3. 44)
14. Morind: Moraind Y¹² Moraind Z¹² Morind V¹⁴ Morann
A⁹ Morain E¹⁰: *Mauretania* (5. 10)

(a) Corrupted by the influence of the name of the Caspian Sea.

(b) The compiler has overlooked the identity of Dardania and Phrygia, which is expressly stated by Isidore.

15. Liguirn: Lugdōin Y¹³ Lugdōin Z¹³ Līgairn V¹⁵ Luigdin^(a)
A¹⁰ Lugoil E¹¹: *Lycaonia* (3. 42)
16. Oatru: om. Y Oatru Z¹⁴ Oatre V¹⁶ om. A om. E: A variant
in P is Daithri; perhaps a corruption of *Bactria*
(3. 30)
17. Creit: Creit Y¹⁷ Creit Z¹⁷ Creit V¹⁷ Creit A¹⁶ Creit E¹⁸:
Creta (6. 15)
18. Corsic: Corsie Y¹⁸ Corsie Z¹⁸ Corsie V¹⁸ Coirsie A¹⁵
Corsie E¹⁹: *Corsica* (6. 41)
19. Sicil: Sicil Y²⁰ Sicil Z²⁰ Sicil V²⁴ Sigil A¹⁵ Sicil E²¹:
Sicilia (6. 32)
20. Reit: Reit Y²¹ Reit Z²¹ Reit V²³ Reit A¹⁹ Reit E²²: *Raetia*
(4. 27)
21. Sardain: Sardain Y¹⁹ Sardain Z¹⁹ Sardain Y²⁶ Sardain
A¹⁷ Sardain E²⁰: *Sardinia* (6. 39)
22. Magidon: Maicidōin Y²⁷ Maicidōin Z²⁷ Maicidōin V³⁰
Maicidoin A²⁵ Maigidon E²⁹: *Macedonia* (4. 13)
23. Tesail: Tessail Y⁵⁴ Tessail Z⁵¹ Tessail V²⁰ (also Tesalia
V⁵¹) Tesail A³⁸ Teasail E⁴⁷: *Thessalia* (4. 12)
24. Armein: Armēin Y³⁵ Armēin Z³⁵ Armēin V²² Armaint
A³³ Armoir E⁴¹: *Armenia* (3. 17, 35)
25. Dalmait: Dalmait Y⁵⁸ Dalmait Z³⁵ Dalmait V¹¹ Dalmait
A⁵⁶ Dalmait E⁴⁷: *Dalmatia* (3. 7)
26. Romain: Rōmāin Y²⁴ Rōmāin Z²⁴ Romain V³² Romain A²²
Romain E²⁵: Possibly (Urbs) *Romana*, but most likely
a corruption, induced by the influence of the name
of Rome, for *Pannonia* (4. 16)
27. Rugind: Recin Y²² Rigind Z²² Rugind V³³ Reicir A²⁰
Reicil E²³: apparently the *Rhegini* (*Etym.* IX ii 32)
28. Moisig: Masail Y²⁵ Mosin Z²⁵ Maisic V³⁸ Masgusa A²³
Massail E²⁷: perhaps (Urbs) *Mazaca* (*Etym.* IX ii
30); not *Moesia* (4. 9), for which see no. 53 below)
29. Arboin: Narbōin Y²⁸ Narbōin Z²⁸ om. V Narmaint A²⁸
Narboin E³³: (Urbs) *Narbona* (*Etym.* XV i 64)
30. Hisbain: Hespāin Y⁴³ Espāin Z⁴³ Hesperia V³¹ Espain
A⁴³ Esbain E⁵³: *Hispania* (4. 28)
31. Gairit: Galait Y³⁶ Galait Z³⁶ Galait V⁴⁹ Galus A³⁵ Galaid
E⁴⁴: *Galatia* (3. 40)

(a) A has *Luigdin* oic, the first of several names in this version of the list provided with otiose adjectives. This is a clear indication that the Auraicept version of the list has been taken from a verse composition.

32. Huinind: *om.* Y *om.* Z Huinind V³⁴ Amuis A³⁴ Amuis E⁴²: *Phoenicia* (3. 17)
33. Saraic: Cicir Y¹⁵ Cipri Z¹⁵ Saraic V²⁵ (also Cipir V¹⁹) Siceir A¹³ Circir E¹² (also Sarain E³⁷): *Saraceni*^(a) (3. 29)
34. Broes: Roid Y²³ Rudi Z²³ Broes V³⁰ Roait A²¹ Roid E²⁴ (also Barais E³⁶): *Rhodos* (6. 22)
35. Brit: Britain Y³² Britain Z³¹ Bretnais V²⁹ Britain A²⁰ Britain E³⁸: *Brittania*^(b) (6. 2)
36. Oric: Hircain Y¹⁴ Hircain Z⁴¹ *om.* V Ircair og A⁴¹ Hircain E³¹: a corruption of *Illyricum* (47) with influence of *Hyrcania* (*ante* no. 4)
37. Burgan: Bragmain Y⁶⁴ *om.* Z *om.* V Braghmain A⁶¹ Bramain E⁷¹: *Burgundiones*^(c) (*Etyim.* IX ii 99)
38. Belgaig: Belgic Y³³ Belgaich Z³² Belgaig V²⁷ *om.* A *om.* E: *Belgia* (4. 26)
39. Mugaig: Magoich Y³⁴ Magoich Z³⁴ Mugaig V³⁷ Magoig A³² Maguich E⁴⁰: the variant Muccaid, found in some mss. of V, suggests that this is *Mygdonia* (3. 39)
40. Boet: Bethain Y³¹ Boet Z³³ Boet V²⁸ Boit A³¹ Boid E³⁹ (also Bethain E³⁷): *Boeotia* (4. 11)
41. India: Inneedai Y⁶⁵ *om.* Z India V³⁵ Inneedai A⁶⁰ Inneedai E⁷²: *India* (3. 5)
42. Pardae: *om.* Y *om.* Z Parthia V⁴⁰ *om.* A *om.* E: *Parthia* (3. 8)
43. Callia: *om.* Y *om.* Z Callia V⁴¹ *om.* A *om.* E: *Caria* (3. 38, 42)
44. Siria: *om.* Y *om.* Z Siria V⁴² *om.* A *om.* E: *Syria* (3. 16)
45. Aidin (in L only): Alain Y⁴⁰ Alain Z³⁹ *om.* V Allain A⁷⁹ Alain E⁴⁹: *Alania* (4. 3)
46. Galbat (in F only): not in any other list. A doublet of no. 31, *Galatia*
47. Acait (in F only): Achuid Y³⁷ Aeit Z³⁷ Achait V⁴⁵ Acain A³⁷ Achid A⁴⁵: *Achaia* (4. 14)
48. Atheni: Athain Y³⁸ Athin Z³⁸ Athin V⁴⁴ Aetain A⁸⁶ Athain E⁴⁶: *Athenae* (4. 10)

(a) Influenced by the names of *Cyprus* and of *Sicilia*.

(b) So spelt in Isidore, *ed.* Lindsay.

(c) Possibly influenced by the name of the Brahmins, if we could assume that the Irish compilers had ever heard of them. The name comes next to "India" in Y, A, E.

49. Albain: Albain Y⁴⁰ Albain Z⁴⁰ Albaneas^(a) V⁴⁰ Alpain A⁴⁰ Albain E⁵⁰: *Albania* (3. 34)
50. Saxus: *om.* Y *om.* Z Sax V⁴³ *om.* A *om.* E: *Saxones* (IX ii 100)
51. Ebre: *om.* Y *om.* Z Ebra V⁴⁷ *om.* A *om.* E: *Hebraei* (IX i 9)
52. Ardain: *om.* Y *om.* Z Ardain V⁴⁸ *om.* A Ardair E⁴⁸: *Arcadia* (4. 15)
53. Moysi: *om.* Y Mussin Z²⁹ Maisi V⁶³ *om.* A *om.* E: *Moesia* (4. 9)
54. Tracia: Traie Y⁵⁵ Traie Z⁵² Tracia V⁶⁰ Traig A⁵⁴ Traedai E⁵⁴: *Thracia* (4. 6)
55. Edis: *om.* Y *om.* Z Edis V⁶² Elsil A⁵² Essill E⁶³: unless this is meant for *Hellas* (4. 7) I cannot identify it. *Edessa* is possible, but it is not mentioned in the section of Isidore which has supplied the other names.
56. Vesogiam, *aliter* Ulsogam: *om.* Y *om.* Z *om.* V *om.* A *om.* E: apparently (*P*)*elasgi* (IX ii 74)
57. Tripolita: *om.* Y *om.* Z *om.* V *om.* A *om.* E: *Tripolitana* (5. 6)
58. Zeugis: *om.* Y *om.* Z *om.* V *om.* A *om.* E: *Zeugis* (5. 3)
59. Numa: Nombithi Y³⁰ Numin Z³⁰ Numeid V⁶¹ Nombith A²⁹ Nobith E³⁵: *Numidia* (5. 9)
60. Murit (in R¹ only): Moreain Y²⁶ *om.* Z *om.* V Morcain A²⁶ (also Mair A²⁴) Moreain E³⁰ (also Inair E²⁶ Mair E²⁸). *Cain* is probably an adjective which has become attached to the name: apparently a doublet of no. 14, *Mauretania*.
61. Hicail: Etail Y⁴² Etail Z⁴² Ecail V⁶³ Etail A⁴² Itail E⁵²: *Italia* (4. 18)
62. Gaedilg: *om.* Y *om.* Z *om.* V *om.* A *om.* E: an absurd interpolation, into a list of languages from which "Gaedilg" was said to be fashioned!
- [Here H has Moisee, which should have been with no. 53 above.]
63. Media: *om.* Y *om.* Z Media V⁵⁴ Moiet A⁸ Meid (or Mold) E⁵: *Media* (3. 11)

(a) Another example of the fusion of an adjective with the place-name.

64. Foirne: *om.* Y *om.* Z Foirne V⁵⁵ *om.* A *om.* E: presumably *Persida* (3. 11)
65. Grinni: Grinne Y⁴⁶ Grinne Z⁴⁵ Grinni V⁵⁷ Grinne A⁴⁶ Gruind E⁵⁰. Rendered by Meyer (*op. cit.*) "Gemeinschaft," but certainly understood by the compilers of these lists to be a name. Perhaps a corruption of *Cyrene* (5. 5)
66. Frane: Fraine Y⁴⁷ Fraine Z⁴⁶ Frane V⁵⁶ Affraime A⁴⁷ Fraine E⁵⁸: *Franci* (IX ii 101)
67. Fresin: Fresin Y⁴⁹ Fresin Z⁴⁸ *om.* V Freisin A⁴⁸ Freisin E⁵⁹: *Fresi* (not mentioned by Isidore)
68. Longbard: Longbaird Y⁵⁰ Longbaird Z⁴⁹ Longbard V⁵⁰ Longbaird A⁴⁹ Longbaird E⁶⁰: *Lungobardi* (IX ii 95)
69. Laedemoin: Laedemoin Y⁵³ Laedemoin Z⁵⁰ Laedemoin V⁵⁸ Laedemoin A⁵¹ Laedemoin E⁶¹: *Lacedaemonia* (4. 16)
70. Troiana: Troian Y⁵⁶ Troia Z⁵³ Troia V⁵⁰ Tragianda A⁵³ Troiannai E⁶⁵: *Troas* (3. 41)
71. Colehia: Cielaid Y¹⁶ Cielaid Z¹⁶ Colaig V⁵² Cielait A¹⁴ Cielaid E¹⁷: *Cyclades* (6. 19), but influenced by the name of *Colchis*.
72. Caspia: a repetition of no. 11.
73. Aegipt: Egeipt Y⁶³ *om.* Z Egipt V⁶⁵ Egiptda A⁵⁹ Egeipt E⁷⁰: *Aegyptus* (3. 27)
74. Aethioip: Etheoip Y⁶¹ *om.* Z Ethioip V⁶⁴ Eithiop A⁵⁸ Ethioip E⁶⁹: *Aethiopia* (5. 14)

The following names are found in the other lists but are omitted by P:—

75. Seuit Y³ Seuit Z³ Sgouit A³ Seuit E³: *Scoti* (IX ii 103)
76. Nordi Y²⁹ Noric Z²⁹ Nair A²⁷ Nairn E³¹ (also Narmais E³² Norith E³⁴): *Noricus ager* (4. 5)
[At Y⁴¹ Hireain, a doublet of 36].
77. Guich Y⁴⁴ Guith Z⁴⁴ Guir A⁴⁴ Goiree E⁴³ (also Goith E⁵⁴ Guith E⁵⁵). Not *Gothi*, *Gothia*, for which see no. 5: perhaps their synonym *Getae* (IX ii 89), made into a separate people (compare Phrygia—Dardania, nos. 10, 12)
78. Ladaich Y⁶¹ Laidich A⁵⁰: perhaps *Lycia* (3. 38)
79. Lid Y⁵² Lodain E⁶²: perhaps *Lydia* (3. 43)

80. Daic Y⁵⁹ Daic Z⁵⁶ Daic A⁵⁷ Dacia E⁶⁸: *Dacia* (4. 3)
81. Daehi Y⁶⁰. A doublet of the last.
82. Luireedai Y⁶²: Unrecognizable; *Liguria*? (6. 41)

VERSE TEXTS.

X.

Metre: *snēdbairdne*.

306. K reads *bri co dochta* and glosses it *briathar co itegosse no co munadh*. All the old mss. have *brīg*, which we must translate 'value,' 'sense,' 'meaning.'

XI.

Metre: *deibde scāille*.

This poem is primarily a mnemonic list of *places*, extracted from Isidore, and put into verse form with especial attention to alliteration. It is independent of the prose list associated with it, which seems to come from some other source; the two lists do not completely correspond. For fuller particulars see the notes on the prose list, above, p. 148 ff. In both lists, most, though not all, of the names have to be rendered substantivally, not adjectivally—Bithynia, Scythia, Cilicia, etc.—to represent them literally. K ignores this poem, as well as its context, nor does it appear in *Auraicept* in connexion with the list of languages. Though Kg knows of the study of languages by Feinius and his family, he makes no attempt to enumerate them.

(2) 313. *Lir* "numerous" could be rendered "populous" and applied to the name of a country, but has hardly any meaning when applied to the name of a language. 315. *Cipir*: not in prose text. See p. 152, no. 33.

(3) 319. *Humind* in all mss.: apparently a misreading for *Huinus* (written "Huin;"), i.e., Phoenicia. The last syllable is an iteration of the first syllable of *India* which follows: the form *Huinusind*, which appears in the prose texts, would not fit into the metre. *Araib* is not in the prose text.

(4) 322. *Albanas* must be retained in its present form for metrical purposes, but doubtless it was originally *Alban chas*,

"pleasant Albania." This leads to the inference that the composition before us is a metrical re-grouping of the names in another verse list, written in a different metre, like those published by Kuno Meyer and referred to in the foregoing notes on the prose text. 324, *Tesalia* must be a doublet of *Tessail* in line 315.

XII.

Metre: *debide scáilte fordalach*.

337. *Scēne* = *Inber Scēne*, the Shannon estuary (see vol. i, p. xxxv). K omits this poem, but it is given by Kg (ed. I.T.S., ii, p. 28) reading *duib* for *lib* in 335. This reading (found misspelt in V) is metrically preferable.

XIII.

Metre: *debide scáilte*. Attributed to Gilla Coemain († 1072) but certainly not all the work of one hand. In the poem as originally written there is *conachland* between the successive quatrains, which is rigidly maintained throughout; and the rupture of this linkage, wherever it occurs, must indicate an interpolation. This reduces the composition to the following quatrains: 1, 9-18, 21-25, 28-39, 43. If these are read continuously, they will be found to give complete sense, and the incidents mentioned in the rejected quatrains (here partly in smaller type) can be omitted without loss or discontinuity. We can also reject quatrain 24, which merely repeats the matter of 18. Thus pruned, the poem is simply a versification of the story narrated in the R¹ version.⁵ Like R¹, it does not specifically state Gaedil's relationship to Nel. The course of the Seythian vendetta follows exactly the lines of R¹. There is, however, a divergence in the matter of the leaders of the Gaedil after their banishment: they are specified as Agnomain with his sons Allot and Lamfhind, and Eber, with his sons Caieher and Cing: here the poem differs from all the prose texts. This Eber is a brother of Agnomain and son of Tat. On "the sea of Liuis" which is unknown to R¹ (though R² borrows it from

⁵ Or preferably, *vice versa*, the R¹ story is a paraphrase of the poem.

this poem) another son of Agnomain called "Glas" is abruptly introduced to us: on this person see below, note to line 407.

In the quatrains rejected, 2-8 give us the history of the family of Feinius, with the singular episode of Nel's slaying Nenual—a Cain-and-Abel incident ignored by the prose texts. Nos. 26, 27 give us the tale of the well of wine, which in any case looks like a later addition to the story; and 40-42 enumerate the sons of Mil and of Bregon.

K has the poem, but omits quatrains 3-6 (substituting quatrain 58 of poem no. V) 26, 27, 40, 41, and has numerous variant readings. Kg presents no complete copy of the poem, but quotes several of its quatrains as occasion arises.

(2). Kg quotes this quatrain (p. 10⁶), but gives as his version of the second line *Nenuil is Niul ba haghmkar*, a form foreign to the LG tradition. In quoting from this poem, Kg usually mentions the first line and the author; he makes an exception here, as though he were conscious that the quatrain is spurious. K gives it as in the older texts.

(3). The story told here may perhaps give us the germ of the Seythian vendetta story. Mil = Nel and slays his brother Nenual [= Refloir], and, being driven out, flees to Egypt and marries Scota. This fratricide looks like an adaptation of the Cain-Abel episode, but it is a common type of folk tale and may be original. *In láich lir*: I take *lir* to be the genitive of *ler*, though there is no other hint of an association of Feinius with the sea. But the alternative "the multitudinous hero" is meaningless, unless it refers to his descendants.

(4). This quatrain was not in K's copy of the poem, but it was in Kg's: he quotes it on p. 14 with M's reading *iars(o)in* for *trē gail*.

(5). Quoted by Kg with some slight verbal differences, possibly due to lapses of memory. He does not refer to the title or author of the poem in this case, so the stanza may not have been in his copy. It is not in K's. - 358. The explanation of Gaedel's name ignores the story of the serpent.

⁵ These references are to the I.T.S. edition of Keating's History, vol. ii.

(7). Here K resumes. K quotes this quatrain and the next (p. 26) with some slight differences, the only important one being *ó a thoigh* for *dia thaig* (365). 366. *Mara Romair* is the name of the sea, an adaptation of the Latin *Mare Rubrum*; *rūaid* is merely an Irish adjective, and should not be translated as a proper name.

(8) 367. For *lucht .iiii. long* K has the unauthorized reading *cāoga lōideng*.

(9) 372. *Nenuail* is to be pronounced as a dissyllable, as in 378; where Noemius must be trisyllable, although in 383 it is a dissyllable.

(12) 384. *Brecc* is a stock epithet for shields; see *Fled Bricrend* 45. Thus a shield becomes a standard of comparison for the quality expressed by the word.

(13) 389. For *na chrích cen chill* K has *i cerine cind*. *Chríne* also appears in L.

(14) 393. For *cen cor thim* K has *tenn-coir nar tim*, a corruption that cannot be based on any extant ms.

(15). Kg quotes this quatrain (Vol. II, p. 32) with trifling orthographical deviations. K has several corruptions: *ceitri* for *secht* (396), as in Min; *roglan* (397) for *co n-glor*; in 398 following L Min.

(16) 399. The older prose texts have no cognizance of *Noinel* and *Refill*, the sons of *Refloir* who drove the *Gaedil* out from *Seythia*. In 402 K again follows Min (*medrach* for *merda*).

(17) 403. *Dia* is apparently the word glossed *lōr* in an obscure poem in artificial jargon edited by Meyer (ZCP v. 484). The scribes seem to have taken it for *Dia* = God, and Min has tried to make the passage intelligible by changing *ba* to *dar*. We have seen above that the verse contradicts the prose in the matter of the names of the chieftains.

(18) 407. K reads *Elloit, Laimhfionn, Glas lonn leir tri meic* . . . It may be that the couplet originally ran thus

Allot, Lāmfīnd, Lāmglas lēir,
trī meic Agnomain imrēil . . .

preserving a tradition of *three* sons of Agnomain, named in accordance with the usual custom in naming triplicities,

A + B + B'—one of the three names being independent, the others forming a "dioseurie" assonance. We shall meet with numerous cases of this type of name-group as we proceed. Lamglas, however, disappeared, his name being taken to be an epithet of Lamfhind, and his personality being sunk in Febri [= Eber] Glas, who is elsewhere represented as a son of "Agni" [= Agnomain = Mil]. As the *variae lectiones* show, there is good evidence for the reading *trī meic* (408), and it is, on the whole, the preferable reading. But the historical theory underlying the text here adopted, without Lamglas, must have taken shape before the prose text was compiled.

(19) 411. K has a reading which gives 30, not 3, as the number of the ships.

(20) 417. There is nothing in the prose to correspond to this couplet. The whole quatrain is spurious.

(21) 419. The Libyan Sea, according to Orosius (I, ii, 97), is an alternative name for the Adriatic; but he extends the meaning of the term so far as to make the sea so designated wash the southern coast of Crete. For *Coronis* (422) see note on the Prose Text ¶ 130. The visit to the Libyan Sea, and *Coronis*, is borrowed by R² (¶ 130), but the death of [Lam]glas is not mentioned.

(22) 423. Unless "the fair island" be *Coronis*, proleptically mentioned in the preceding quatrain, we have no record of it anywhere in the prose texts.

(23) 429. The story of Lamfhind's shining hands is, as we have seen, an old interpolation (probably, however, later than the incipient disappearance of his [twin]-brother Lamglas).

(24) 434. Cing is unknown to the prose text. Agnomain has now disappeared; from the prose text we learn that he died on the Caspian Sea. K has turned *lūath dar ler* into *luaiter libh*: one of several misreadings which look more like arbitrary attempts at emendation than copies of variant texts.

(25) 437. K's reading *conerbairt riū Caicher cain* seems to be another arbitrary alteration.

(26). This quatrain and the next are certainly spurious. Not only do they break the *conachland*, but they are absent

from the earlier redactions and also from K, so that they were not even established in the text with the security of some of the other spurious quatrains. The monosyllable rhyme *trēn-lēn* in lines 443-4 is contrary to the metrical rule.

(27) 446. *Denmedach* is in all the MSS. except M, which has *-mnedach*, correctly.

(29). In this quatrain also K has introduced several verbal changes.

(30) 455. *Co fi* glossed *co neimh*, K.

(32) 463. K again follows Min in reading *garta* for *gasta*, but Kg, who quotes this quatrain (p. 34), has *gasta*. On the other hand, K agrees with the *trī chēt bliadan* of 464, whereas Kg has *tríochad bliadhan*. Kg has an altogether peculiar version of 465-6, *Anaid lucht díobh ann o sáin, Go dtí deircadh an domhain*. The text, as before, agrees with R¹ in the long sojourn at the Macotic Marshes.

(33) 467. Kg (p. 38) reads *Brátha mac Deaghátha díl*. The scansion shows that *De-ath* is dissyllabic: the spelling in B, *Deaath*, is intended to indicate this (cf. *Deaghátha*, just quoted).

(34) 472. Allot is s. Nuadu s. Nenuál in the prose texts.

(35) 475. K has a completely different version of the first three lines of this quatrain.

(36) 480. On these names, see the notes to the prose text ¶ 116.

(38) 487. For *Doriachtatar* K reads *do ernaidhset*, apparently without authority.

(39) 492. For *nEspāin il-dathach* K gives us *nEspaine nughrach* and Kg *Easpáinne uallach*.

(40) 495 ff. The names enumerated in these three spurious stanzas can best be discussed when we come to them in the prose text of a later part of the book. They have no relevance in the present section.

XIV.

Metre: *sētrad fota*. The assonantal scheme is elaborate.

In the four lines of a quatrain, ABCD, B-D have monosyllabic rhymes, AC end in dissyllables. In each couplet

there is alliteration, preferably between the last words of B and D. The last word of A generally alliterates with the preceding word, or with the first prominent word of B; when this does not happen, by compensation there is alliteration in the body of A, and/or two pairs of words in alliteration or three words in alliteration in B. The last word of C rhymes with the penultimate word of D. Licence to break these fetters is permitted in a quatrain containing many proper names, and the poet allows himself an occasional liberty in other cases, though it is quite possible that such lapses are due to corruption in the text. Author, Cenn Fáelad († 679).

(1) 511. Here and elsewhere K reads *Golamh* for *Mílid*. 513. Refloir was son of Refill s. Noemíus according to the prose texts. Through the influence of Latin, Noemíus becomes Noemi in the genitive (with a variety of spellings). This presently becomes nominative, and here develops a new genitive, Nēmān, which must be so pronounced to rhyme with glē-bān. 514. *Glas* is glossed by K *gleo uais*, which is farther glossed in a quotation in O'Reilly's Dictionary, s.v., "i.e., *gleo doiligh*, difficult combat." Possibly this interpretation improves the sense of the cheville slightly, but hardly sufficiently to justify departure from the simple meaning of the words.

(2) 515. *Ceithri*: K reads *cethrucha*. 517. K completely re-writes this couplet.

(3) 522. *Folt*, "a head of hair," used here in gen. pl. of the foam-crests of the individual waves. A poetical idea, into which the author has been betrayed by the necessity of finding a rhyme for *port*.

(4) 524. *Airecht*, glossed *curia* R.C. i 59. 526. *Aba thwrech*, apparently a kenning for the Nile, which makes the existence of Egypt possible. K, presumably in disapproval of Egypt and the Nile being put into the west, to rhyme with *fian*, has re-written the line. 527. For *dā fer dēc* K reads *diorna*, and glosses it *nuimir no tomhus*.

(5) (6A) 533A. This couplet has become badly corrupted.
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Amorgen and Goseen have disappeared, and "do Dhond" is a bad line-ending.

(7) 536. *Ro leth a ngnai sund co sāl*, literally "their countenances spread there to the sea."

(9) 544. *Rēcsat* for *rētsat*, s-pret. of *riadaim*. "They fared in the land on the wave," i.e., over the sea.

(10) 547. This poem tells the story of the wanderings of Mil much as it has reached R², and the geography is similar. The sirens are, however, absent, as is also the prophecy of Caicher. But we need not necessarily assume that the poem represents a stage of development before these had entered into the story: they may have been quietly dropped because even Cenn Fáelad found that he could not fit them into his elaborate metre.

(11) 551. "Forty-four" battles: the prose text says fifty-four. We have evidently two divergent tales of the fighting in Spain, the one a story of three battles, one with each of the Spanish tribes, the other a story of a large number of battles against the whole population. It is the latter which is followed here.

(12) 558. *nDiss*, glossed by K *imderoile*.

(14). K omits from here to the penultimate stanza inclusive possibly because this part of the poem records matter which he had not yet touched upon in his history at the point where he introduced it. But some of the omitted stanzas are not free from suspicion of spuriousness. 565. *Lār il-lacha*, apparently "floor of many ducks"—a kenning for a sea or a lake.

(15). This is one of the stanzas which is doubtful. The regular rhyme between the ultimate of 569 and the penultimate of 570 is missing. In any case there is much uncertainty about the text of these two lines. *Scāil* (570) must be regarded as the verbal noun of *scāilim*, though the normal form is *scāiled*.

(16) 573. The reading *demin* in R³ would be preferable to *linne*, as it would give a missing alliteration: but we should lose the assonance with *rindi*. In any case this assonance

is in the wrong place, and the quatrain also is probably spurious.

(17) 576. Division into twelve parts—another Israelite reminiscence!

(18) 581. *Mōrglan* and *Fulman* do not make a good assonance; at least it is below Cenn Fáelad's usual standard.

(19) 586. *Detla*, "bold," the reading in R³ gives better sense, but *tetra* gives a better alliteration, which is the more important consideration.

(20) 587. *Rāith Bethaig ac Eóir* = Rathbeagh on the Nore, Kilkenny, O.S. sheets 9, 10. The convivial statements about it are merely for metrical reasons. 589. *Rāith Aindind* was apparently in the Cualu territory, but its site is not certainly identified. 590. *Tóchar Mór*, or in full *Tóchar Inbhir Mhóir*, the Causeway of the Avoca Estuary at Arklow; identified with Togher, Wicklow, O.S. sheet 36.

(21) 591. *Dūn Sobairci*, Dunseverick, Antrim, O.S. sheet 3. 593. *Delginis*, etc. Hogan, *Onom.* s.v. "Delinis," translates *iar suilgi* as "West of Suilge," but makes no attempt to identify this supposed place. But in fact *suilig* means "easy, gentle" (see *Tecosca Cormaic* ed. Meyer s.v. in vocabulary) and *iar suilgi* is a mere cheville, parallel to *iar n-ál* in the previous quatrain. *Delginis* is Dalkey, near Dublin, O.S. sheet 23. 594. *Dūn Etlair* was somewhere in the promontory of Howth, Dublin, O.S. sheet 15, 16, 19.

(22) 595. *Rāith Arda Súird*, identified by Hogan with Rathurd, Limerick, O.S. sheet 14. 596. *Dūn mBindi*: not identified. 597. *Rāith Rigbaird*, vaguely identified by Hogan with a large fort east of Easky, townland of Carrow Mably, Sligo, O.S. sheet 12. 598. *Dūn Cairich*, not identified.

(23) 599. *Nar*: identification doubtful.

XV.

Metre: *debide scāilte*.

This poem calls for no special notice: it is merely a paraphrase of the prose passage with which it is associated,

composed for mnemonic purposes after the prose had evolved into the form in which we have it.

XVI.

Metre: *debide scaille*, with concessions to *oglachas* in the end rhymes of quatrains 3, 5. Also in *Auraicept* (ed. Calder, pp. 171-2), but in a very different version, with the quatrains in this order—4123, 5 being omitted. The first couplet of this quatrain is preserved in $\mu/\mu R$ only: B ends the poem with a six-line stanza made up of quatrain 4 and the last couplet of 5. In M quatrains 4 and 5 were omitted from the text and were added in the top margin of the page, whence they have been cut off by a bookbinder, leaving only the word *diamair* and the last couplet of quatrain 5. The first couplet of 5 is preserved by Min only.

XVII.

Metre: a rather free *debide scaille*.

XVIII.

This poem is not in K, but it is quoted with a different text by Kg (vol. ii, p. 18). The last two quatrains are omitted by Kg.

(1) 655. *G.G. cionnus do rádh* Kg. 656. *Crithir*: the ordinary meaning "fearful, trembling" does not seem to be applicable here. The word also means "a spark," and might here be treated as gen. pl. "the man of sparks," "sparkling man." But this hardly seems satisfactory. Dinneen translates the word "brilliant" in Keating, but does not acknowledge the existence of such a meaning in his dictionary. 657. *An ní ó bhfuil G.G. Is tearc ga bhuil a seanchas* Kg.

(2) 659. This quatrain reappears in Kg with slight changes only. The story of the serpent is obviously quite different from that in the prose texts of LG. Kg takes it into his history as an alternative version.

(3) 665. *Is eadh thuigid colaigh as Gonadh de atá G.G.*, Kg.

XIX.

Metre: *debide imvind*, obscured by a corruption in the LG texts. Kg (Vol. ii, p. 42) reads *thall* for *trell* at the end of the third line, which mends the metre and gives better sense. K has the same reading.

XX.

Metre: *debide scaille*. Author "Conaing" according to Kg.

Quoted by Kg, p. 46, with only one important variant (*go ngladh* for *dar Dia* in line 683): also by K, with close kinship to the text in the R² group of mss. In this text it does not appear in the present section, but is postponed to § VIII. The poem calls for no special comments, being merely a list of names alternating with rhyming chevilles.

SECTION III.

CESSAIR.

Introduction.

With this section begins the interpolation which breaks into the "history" of the development of the Milesians and of their Taking of Ireland—as described in the introduction, vol. i, p. xxxv ff. We have seen that it formed no part of the original text, but that it was an independent document, and was known as such to Nennius.

It falls primarily into two parts, easily separated from one another: primarily, for each component can be further analysed. The first relates to certain legendary invasions before the Flood: the second to a number of stories—or, rather, of variants of one story—of invasions after the Flood. Nennius does not seem to have known of the first of these, so that we may infer that his copy of the book did not contain it: and it is important to note that it is entirely ignored by Min. This points to the further inference, which is also indicated by the loose connexion between the component parts, that they were originally independent documents.

As names are required for these two documents, we shall call the first *Pericope Antediluvianorum*, an expression whose convenience may condone its incompatibility with classical propriety. The second we shall call *Liber Praecursorum*. For reference we shall abbreviate these names to PA and LP respectively. The composite book, which consists of these two elements, we shall call *Liber Originum*, abbreviated to LO.

LO is by far the most valuable portion of LG. The first part, PA, is a cosmogony: the second, LP, is a series of successive variations of a theogony, with ritual elements interspersed. Though badly messed by uncomprehending redactors, it gives us one of the most extensive collections

of European pre-Christian theology, ritual, and mythology that any non-classical literature can afford.

PA itself, even in its oldest available form, is obviously composite, consisting of different elements very loosely flung together. The limits of the separate documents are shown by the following analysis.

First Redaction.

¶ 166. As will appear in the notes, this ¶ is no part of PA: it is undoubtedly part of the original LG, and formed the only acknowledgement which that document contained of the pre-Milesian invaders. The original author of LG was writing a "history" specifically of the Milesians, and their predecessors interested him only in so far as they accounted for the opposition offered, to the Milesian landing, by the aborigines. For probable interpolations see the notes.

¶ 167. An excerpt from the "Quire of Druim Snechta" (*Cin Droma Snechta*), giving an independent account of the story of the Antediluvians. In F*Q, but not in L, and certainly no original part of PA. The opening words (as is demonstrated in the notes) belong, not to this excerpt, but to PA.

¶ 168. An excerpt, professedly from a different source, also peculiar to F*Q, telling the story of the Spanish fishermen.

¶ 169. Here we have (1) a fragment of the original PA, headed in L by the opening words of LO. This settles the otherwise unanswerable question whether PA had or had not been already combined with LP when the latter was inserted into LG. The simple form of PA is preserved in L (in a mutilated form, see the notes): ¶ F has here interpolated a long description of Cessair's voyage.

¶ 170. Continues the original PA, following on the tale of Noah's summary dismissal of Cessair and her followers which is common to the extant manuscripts of R¹. It narrates in the briefest form their landing at Dūn na mBare, and their subsequent fates.

¶ 171 has nothing original to PA. The sentence *Ni rogab nech . . . ndilinn sin* must belong to LO, and is meant to

confirm the compiler of that document in his judgement in excising the pre-Cessair "takings." The poem containing the names of the women is an interpolation, as is shown by the variant versions of the matter introducing it, and by the fact that no prose text based upon it is included in this Redaction.

Thus the redaction consists of the following elements:—

From LG: ¶ 166.

From PA: Heading of ¶ 167; one sentence in ¶ 169; ¶ 170.

From LO: Heading of ¶ 169 in L; end of ¶ 171.

From the Quire of Druim Snechta: ¶ 167.

From other, miscellaneous sources: ¶¶ 168, 169 (in F), 171.

Second Redaction.

¶ 172. A modified form of ¶ 166 from LG, harmonized with LO.

¶ 173. A parallel to ¶ 168, but in different words and from a different source.

¶ 174. A very composite paragraph, as the introduction shows. "Saball s. Manual" comes abruptly into view; it is evidently assumed that the reader knows all about him. The very pointlessness of the allusion suggests that he held some prominent position in the original version of the Cessair saga. In Keating, at least in the mss. followed in the printed text, he appears, in a quatrain here quoted as poem XXVI, under the form "Saball s. Nionuall." It is conceivable that this is correct, and that we are to identify Nionuall, in spite of the double *l* (which, however, is not written uniformly) with the *Nenuall* of whom we have heard in connexion with the tower of Babel. This would link Cessair's foster-father with the long chain of enigmatical warring kings in Scythia, for whom no terrestrial identification, either in history or in recorded mythology, can be suggested: and leads to the further inference that in their names we may have the skeleton of some unknown saga of a War in Heaven—one of the doubtless innumerable mythologies, once current among the welter of tribes in Neolithic and Bronze Age Northern Europe, but now passed irrecoverably into oblivion.

¶ 175. R² has re-written the story presumably under the influence of other sources. In both R¹ and R² the purpose of the voyage is to escape the Flood; but in R¹ the suggestion comes from Noah, in R² from druids; in R¹ the destination is vague, in R² Ireland is specifically mentioned: and in R² the absence of serpents in Ireland, thus ensuring a continuation of Eden-purity, is given as a reason for expecting a sanctuary there. Is it possible that we have lost a story of the appearance of a *piast* which robbed the country of its state of grace? Has Keating's queer story of the visit of the "three daughters of Cain" got any bearing upon this possibility? A reader of √V has been studying the Quire of Druim Snechta or some derivative therefrom, and has inserted the marginal note which has been taken into the beginning of this paragraph. It does not appear elsewhere in the extant mss. of R², though it probably was in Δ, in which this portion is now missing.

¶ 176. On this paragraph see the notes (at the end of the text) to ¶ 169.

¶ 177. Comparison with ¶ 170 is instructive. Obviously the same document (PA) underlies both: but, in the form in which R² presents it, it has been almost doubled in length by interpolations, and very nearly promoted to the rank of an independent text. The additional "facts" are—

1. The date, 40 days before the Flood.
2. The important topographical augmentation (*Irrus Desscirt Corco Duibne*) commented upon in the notes to ¶ 170.
3. The additional date, A.M. 1656 (diverging from the annalistic calculation, A.M. 2242).
4. The alternative versions of the cause of death of Ladra, ignored in R¹.
5. Fintán's genealogy, connecting him with Bith and Lamech; and the explanation of Bochra as his *mother's* name.

To these we may add

6. (Narrated in ¶ 178) the bare fact that the three men shared the 50 women, which does not appear to have been in the original PA, but has been imported

through the influence of Poem XXV. In R¹ this poem is quoted for the names of the women: in R² their distribution among the men has become the centre of interest.

¶ 178. See preceding note, no. 6.

¶ 179. PA, as represented by R², here ends; but a different version of the same story is now tacked on to it. This is certainly based on the PA story, but it has undergone so many transformations that it must be treated as an independent document. For purposes of reference we shall call the Cessair story in ¶ 174–178 C^A, and that in ¶ 179–183 C^B.

¶ 184, 185 are further interpolations; the first apparently from the original LG (see the notes), giving chronological details; the second containing the legend of the resurrection of Fintán.

R², then, is composed of the following elements:—

From LG—¶ 172 (modified), 184.

From PA—C^A ¶ 174–178 (with numerous alterations and interpolations).

Based upon PA—C^B ¶ 179–183, a version so much worked over as to be a new document.

From other sources—fragmentary notes in ¶ 173, 184, 185, in addition to various odds and ends of interpolation here and there.

Third Redaction.

As in the previous sections, the Third Redaction is a pastepot-and-scissors combination of R¹ and R², almost its only value being that it gives us independent texts of both the preceding versions. As before, we set forth its construction in tabular form, marking with * paragraphs from R¹, with † those from R².

*¶ 186 = ¶ 166. Closer to R¹ than to R² ¶ 172: differing from both in making the Gaileoin and the Fir Domnand *contemporary*.

*¶ 187. The F*Q excerpt from the Book of Druim Snechta, ¶ 167. An interpolation describing the Flood inserted in the middle.

*¶ 188. The F*Q excerpt, describing the three fishers, ¶ 168.

*†¶ 189. The F*Q heading of ¶ 169. Interpolation about Saball borrowed from R² ¶ 174.

†¶ 190 = ¶ 179. Here R³ jettisons all the versions but C^B and follows it exclusively (with numerous corruptions and interpolations, especially in M).

*¶ 191 = ¶ 180, 169. Continuation of C^B for the first sentence, and then returning to R¹ for the details of the voyage, omitted by R² from his text of C^B. Noah's command to make the voyage is reproduced, though the *lām-dīa* had already given his orders!

*¶ 192 = ¶ 169. Continuation of R¹'s account of the voyage.

*†¶ 193 = ¶ 170. Description of the landing at Dūn na mBarc. Goes back to ¶ 193, R², for fuller details about Ladra's death. M inserts an isolated episode about Bath s. Bith, not found elsewhere.

†¶ 194 = ¶ 180 ad fin., 181. Returns to C^B and copies it slavishly, including the abrupt termination with “γ rl”.

†¶ 195 = ¶ 182. Continuation of C^B.

†¶ 196 = ¶ 183. ditto.

¶ 197. A superfluous list of the women, compiled from poem XXV. The last sentence comes from R¹ (¶ 171).

¶ 198. Synchronistic matter, derived from an early chronicle much used in the subsequent sections of LO.

It is obvious that the Cessair story stands on a different footing from the subsequent tales of invasion. These are tales of a history, or rather of a theogonia—no doubt misinterpreted, but to be accepted and criticised as historical legend. The Cessair tale, however, is essentially cosmogonic.

The significance of the heroine's name is obscure (it appears once again as that of Cessair Cruthach, daughter of a "king of France" and wife of King Ugoine): but those of her associates are clear enough. She is the daughter of Bith, that is of "life," "world," or "universe"; and her companion Fintán the deathless is son of Bochna or "ocean." They form a sort of Deucalion-and-Pyrrha couple, and, like their prototypes, they are associated with a great Flood. There is no room for doubt that the Cessair legend is a tattered fragment of a Flood myth, such as is told almost universally throughout the world.¹ The story usually follows a uniform course: Deity determines to destroy mankind, but instructs a favoured mortal to make a ship for his own salvation: the Flood comes and departs, and the ship grounds on a hill: by certain devices, which differ with different stories, the world is re-peopled.

The LG editors knew of no great Flood but the Hebrew version, enshrined in the Book of Genesis; and they were obliged therefore to link the Irish "Deucalion and Pyrrha" with the family of Noah. This is, of course, a mere impertinence, and may be entirely ignored in reconstructing the original form of the tale. Here some Being—quite possibly Sabhall mac Manuail—through the medium of an oracular fetish, warns Cessair and Fintán, the cosmogonic pair, of the coming of a Flood. In one (or three) ships they escape, and ultimately come to ground on a mythical hill called (from the circumstance) Dún na m-Bare, the Fortress of the Ships (in the plural) which corresponds to Noah's Ararat and to Deucalion's Parnassus. It is not necessarily a sea-coast eminence: "in Coreo Duibne" may be dismissed as an early gloss of no authority: the original story-tellers most probably supposed that it was somewhere near the confluence of the three rivers, Nore, Barrow, and Suir. For unless these three rivers have some correspondence with the three couples who led the expedition, it is difficult to see why they are introduced into the story at all. It is not a fatal objection to this hypothesis that the grounding of Cessair's ark on *her* Ararat must in that case have been proleptic,

¹ A comparative study of this legend, with numerous references, will be found in Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, i, 104-361.

preceding the actual advent of the Flood: otherwise the ship could not have sailed to an inland Dún na m-Bare. Unquestionably this anomaly is a result of editorial manipulation. In the original (pagan) legend Cessair must have survived her Flood: in fact, her voyage to Ireland is essentially her flood-voyage. But when it was ascertained on inspired authority that no one in the world had been saved from the Flood except Noah and his family, it became necessary to make Cessair and her exploits uncompromisingly antediluvian.

We now understand the significance of the fifty² women who were in her company. Originally they were the mothers of the various nations of the earth, the list being a LO counterpart of the list of languages in the preceding section: their names are badly corrupted, but some of them are suggestive of an eponymous significance. And undoubtedly Cessair is the *Magna Mater* of the Irish people. Although her name does not seem to be used eponymously, that of her doublet, Banba, is a well-known by-name of Ireland: Mac Firbis, in his preface to *Chronicum Scotorum*, calls her *Heriu no Berba no Cesar*: and a glossator of M has inserted the words "i. Ere" above the name of Cessair, in almost every place where it occurs.

The identity of Cessair with Ēriu is underlined in the story of the Adventures of Tadhg mac Céin,³ where that personage is represented as being greeted by Cessair (who here shares the immortality of Fintán) with precisely the same sentence—"it is long since thy coming was prophesied"—with which Ēriu greets the arriving Milesians in a later section of LG.

Naturally a story such as this cannot be torn from its context and forced into its present incongruous situation without leaving many loose ends no longer to be explained. Bath son of Bith, who appears in an interpolation in M, is one of these. *Dindsenchas* knows of two women, companions of Cessair, Fraechnat who is buried in Sliab Fraech,⁴ and Eba, a she-leech, who rashly went to sleep on the shore called

² Or thrice fifty, according to the *Druim Sneachta Banba* story.

³ Silva Gadelica, i, 348, ii, 391.

⁴ Gwynn, *Metrical Dinds*, iv. 254.

Traig Eba, and was drowned in the rising tide⁵—doubtless, in the original story, one of the victims of the Flood. These persons do not appear in the LG list of Cessair's companions, unless we are to find them in Feochair and Abba respectively, who appear in the list of women. Undoubtedly Adna [= ancient] son of Bith, though he is transferred by historical compilers to a post-diluvian era, was originally of the company of the flood-heroes: conceivably he was a doublet of [L]adra.

Earnest believers in a universal Flood are faced with the difficulty of accounting for the perpetuation of ante-diluvian history across the catastrophe; and they dream of inscriptions on imperishable materials (as in Giraldus, *Top. Hib.* iii. 1, Keating, I, v. 4, and see *ante*, vol. i, pp. 158, 254). Perhaps the Irish expedient of resurrecting Fintán and giving him a measure of immortality is as good as any, though Keating and the Annals of Clonmaennois recognise that it is contrary to the infallible testimony of Scripture.

The grotesque story of the flight of Fintán may possibly be included as a mockery of the unorthodox tales related of him: but it is also conceivable that there is a didactic purpose in the contrast between the long-lived Fintán, who avoids the women, and the short-lived Ladra, who is guilty of excess.

It is shown in the notes to ¶ 168 that the Capa story is primarily dioscuric. According to poem XXII one of these persons was a wright, and another a leech—two of the chief occupations of the Dioscouri.⁶ But the *p* in the first name arouses suspicion that here at least we have artificial manipulation at work. And the statement that they took away “three handfuls of green grass” (*Book of Fenagh*, p. 50) does not help much; still less the note to the printed text of that document that “in some of the bardic accounts” [unspecified] “of the Colonizations of Ireland,” they “are stated to have carried away with them a sod cut from the soil of Ireland as if in token of a right of possession.” It is probably of importance, for a complete study of the origin and mutual connexion of all these legends, that the same

action is attributed to “Adna” in a set of verses quoted by Keating (I, vi, 1).

A few words will be all that is necessary to summarize the later texts of K and Kg.

Kg gives us the stories of the Three Daughters of Cain, of Banba (as in ¶ 167), and of the Three Fishers, which are ignored by K. In dealing with Cessair, both compilers follow C^a (¶ 179) in the story of Noah's repulse of the suppliants and their recourse to the *lām-dia*. For the details of the voyage, K goes back to C^a (¶ 176); Kg does so also, but he leaves out the itinerary, adds up the stages, and says that the whole journey lasted 7½ years. From the landing at Dūn na mBare the two narratives run parallel; K looks back to C^a for the manner of the death of Ladra (omitting the alternative story of the oar), while Kg follows C^a in passing it over. Kg, while properly sceptical about the survival of Fintán, quotes an interesting verse naming four learned men in the four quarters of the world at the time of the Flood, to wit Fimntán, Ferōn, Fers, Andōid son of Ethōr. Ethōr reappears as one of the triad which closes the dynastic line of the Tūatha Dē Danann: in Ferōn and Andōid we recognise with little difficulty two of the alleged sons of Nemed, called in the present compilation Fergus and Ainnind. We must expect, and we shall find throughout our study, a wide range of corruption in proper names, which have no generally known signification to keep them to a standard form, and which are peculiarly liable to arbitrary alteration.

⁵ Gwynn, *Metrical Dinds.* iv, 292.

⁶ See J. R. Harris, *The Dioscouri in the Christian Legends*, p. 61.

SECTION III.

First Redaction.

L 2 γ 47: F 4 β 3.

166. ¹Seuirem ‡ ²i fecht-sa² || do scēlaib na ³n(ā)edel
 'co ro ainsidem do na secht⁴ tūathaib ⁵ro gabsat Hērind
 rompo.⁵ Ro gab ⁶ēm Cessair ⁷ingen Betha meie ⁸Nōe,
 cethracha ⁹lā rīa ndilind. ¹⁰Partholōn mac Sera, ¹¹trī
 chēt bliadan ¹²iar ndilind. ¹³Nemed mac ¹⁴Agnomain do
 Grēcaib ¹⁵Scithia, i eind trichat ¹⁶mblíadan iar
¹⁷Partholōn. Fír Bolg ¹⁸iarsain. Fír Domnand
¹⁹iarsain. ²⁰Gailiōin iarsain.²⁰ Tūatha Dē Danaun
²¹iartain: ²²unde Fintān cecinit,

Hēriu cīa fīarfaigther dim.

L

F

167.

Cia didida cīa [sic]
 ragab Erinn iar túsaid
 talman?

Is ed isbert Lebar Droma
 Snechta^(a) comad Banba ainm
 na cēd ingine fogabad Erinn
 rīa nilind, i. comad uaithi
 nobet Banba for Erinn. Tri
 cōicait ogh do dechaid γ triar
 fer. Ladra in tres fer, is e
 cēd marb Erenn insin: is uad

166. (variants from F) ¹seuirim ²⁻²om. ³ngil with aed sprs. γc F
⁴⁻⁴itfetsam coraitnedem don .i.ii. ⁵⁻⁵rogabasad (second a expuncted)
 Erinn rompo ⁶am ⁷ingin Beatha ⁸Nae ⁹om. la ¹⁰rubbed in L;
 might also be .alan. O'Curry's transcript has .alon, but the two vowels are
 certainly identical. ¹¹tri .ccc. ¹²ria, the r afterwards erased ¹³Nemid

166. Let us cease [at this point] from the stories
 of the Gaedil, that we may tell of the seven peoples
 who took Ireland before them. Cessair d. Bith s. Noe
 took it, forty days before the Flood. Partholon s. Sera
 three hundred years after the Flood. Nemed s.
 Agnomain of the Greeks of Scythia, at the end of
 thirty years after Partholon. The Fír Bolg thereafter.
 The Fír Domnann thereafter. The Gailiōin thereafter
 [ab., along with them]. The Tuatha De Danaun
 thereafter. [The sons of Mil thereafter as Fintan
 said]. *Unde Fintan cecinit,*

Poem no. XXI.

167.

Now, who (was the first
 who) took Ireland after
 the creation of the world?

This is what the Book of
 Druim Snechta says, that
 Banba was the name of the
 first woman who found Ireland
 before the Flood, and that
 from her Ireland is called
 "Banba." With thrice fifty
 maidens she came, and with

¹¹ Agnon L Agnamaid F ¹⁵ Scithiedai (the h dot γc F) ¹⁹ om. m. L
¹⁷ Parthalan ¹⁸ iartain ¹⁹ iarsin ²⁰⁻²⁰ Gailiūin maraen rusiden
²¹ airtsin ²² meic Milid iarsin amail isbert Fintan.

(a) Written Dromas nechta.

ainmnigter Ard Ladrann. Cetracha bliadan badar is an indsi: dosainie iaram galar, conerbailtar uili an aen sechtmain. Da cet bliadan iarsin do bi Eriu can aen duine beo, con iaram tainie dili. Cethracha la 7 bliadain ro bi Ere fo dilind. I cinn tri cet mbliadan iarum rosgab Partholon Erenn: trebatar sin cóica bliadan ar cóie cét, condaselgadar Concind, conna terna ‡ uarthid || neeh dia chlaind i mbethu. Tricha bliadan iaram can duine i mbethaid an Erinn.

168.

Mad iar n-araili slicht imorro, is iad so cetna ro la for Erinn ria ndilind, .i. Cappa 7 Luasad 7 Laigne; ‡ acht chena ni hairmid <Lebor> Gabala iad, ar nir aittrebsad iat[h] Erenn ||. Is ed so imorro dosfuc a n-Erinn: a techt do iascach for muir, co ra seit in gaeth o Espain co Erinn. Soised fritasi co Espain for cenn a man, do tiachtain do aittrebad Erenn. O do riachtatar Erinn doris, dosfarraid in dili, corasbaidh oc Tuaisig^(a) Indber: conad dib do can in file,

Capa is Laigne is Luasad grind.

three men. Ladra, one of the three men, he is the first dead man of Ireland at that time: from him is named Ard Ladrann. Forty years were they in the island: thereafter a disease came upon them, so that they all died in one week. Afterward Ireland was for two hundred years without a living person and thereafter came the Flood. A year and forty days was Ireland under the Flood. At the end of three hundred years thereafter, Partholon took Ireland: he dwelt there five hundred and fifty years, till the Cynocephali drave him out, and there escaped [survived] not one of his children alive. For thirty years after that there was not a man living in Ireland.

168.

If we follow another version, however, these are the first who came over Ireland before the Flood, Capa, and Luasad, and Laigne; [howbeit, (the Book) of Taking does not reckon them, for they did not settle in the land of Ireland]. Now this is what brought them into Ireland; their coming upon the sea for fishing, so that the wind blew them from Spain to Ireland. They came back again to Spain to fetch their wives, to come and settle in Ireland. When they reached Ireland once more, the Flood overtook them and drowned them at Tuad Inbir: so that of them the poet sang

Poem no. XXII.

(a) Written *ottuaig*, and the first *t* scratched down into *c*.

L

169. *Incipit de* Gabalaib
Herend. Rosgab iarum
Cessair ingen Betha meic
Noe, *ut poeta dixit*, ceth-
racha laa ria ndilind.

F

Cesair ingen Beatha meic
Nae, is i ^odog[ab] Erinn ar
tus, cethracha laithi ria
ndilind, ‡ mad iarsin slicht
doluid-sem sunn. ||

Is ē ¹fochond a ²tiachtana, ar ³teched na ⁴dilend : nair
asbert ⁵Nōe friu : Eirgid, ar sē, co ⁶himmel iartharach in
domain : bēs ⁷noco ria in ⁸diliu.

Dia Mairt iaram, 7 .xii. fuirri,
ro gluais o hindsí Morohen for
sruth Nil in Egift. Bai deich
bliadan in Egift. Fiche
tra[th] dhi ar muncind Mara
Caisp. Da trath deg di for
Muir Caisp co riacht in Muir
Cimirda. Aen trath di in
Aissia Bie, co Muir Torrian.
Seolad fichet trath di co Sliabh
nElpa. Fri re nae trath di
asen co Espain. Seoladh nóí
trath di o Esbain co Erinn.
Cóie uathad, for Satharnn,
amail isbert in fili,

Cessair canas táinic sī.

169. ¹fochaid ²tidecht ³teichid ⁴dilind ⁵Nae do raid friu
eirgid ase (sic) ⁶himell iartarach. O'Curry's transcript of L omits the

169. *Incipit de* The
Takings of Ireland. There-
after Cessair daughter of
Bíth s. Noe took it, *ut poeta*
dixit, forty days before the
Flood.

Cessair daughter of Bith
s. Noe, she it is who took
Ireland at first, forty days
before the Flood, [if we
follow the version that has
come here].

This is the reason for her coming, fleeing from the
Flood : for Noe said unto them : Rise, said he, [and go]
to the western edge of the world : perchance the Flood
may not reach it.

Thereafter, on Tuesday,
dated the fifteenth, she set
forth from the island of Meroe
upon the river Nile in Egypt.
She was ten years in Egypt.
Twenty days had she upon
the surface of the Caspian
Sea. Twelve days had she on
the Caspian Sea till she reached
the Cimmerian Sea. One day
had she in Asia Minor, to the
Torrian Sea. A sailing of
twenty days had she to the
Alpine Mountain : for a space
of nine days had she thence to
Spain. A sailing of nine days
had she from Spain to Ireland.
A unitary five [=the fifth day
of the month], on Saturday
[she landed], as the poet said,

Poem no. XXIII.

very conspicuous lenition-mark in iartharach. ¹co ²dile ³ab om. in
MS. : in marg. ^b (sic) written faintly.

170. Lucht trī ¹mbare dosrala do Dūn na mBare ²hi
crīch ³Corco Duibne. Ro ⁴bāttea dī baire ⁵dīb. Tērna
Cessair, lucht ⁶a ⁷bairce, .i. cōica ingen ⁊ triar fer: ⁸i.
Bith mac ⁹Nōe, diatā sliab Betha—is ¹⁰and ro hadnacht,
i ¹¹earn mōr ¹²Slēbe Betha; ¹³Ladru lūam, diatā Ard
¹⁴Ladrand—is ē ¹⁵cētna marb ¹⁶dochōid fo ūir ¹⁷Hērenn:
Fintān mac ¹⁸Bochra, diatā ¹⁹Fert Fintāin ōs ²⁰Tul Tuinne.
Atbath Cessair i ²¹Cūil Chesra la Connachta, cona cōicait
ingen.

171. Ité inso a n-anmand- Amail i[s]bert in fili
side, ut Fintan cecinit

*Cethracha bráth don tūr
tind.*

Is iat so imorro anmanda
in cōicat ingen do badar a
fail Cessrach, ut Fintan
cecinit

Cáin raind do raindsemar etrond.

¹Nī rogab nech ²trā do ³sīl Adaim ⁴Hērind rīa ⁵ndilind
acht ⁶sain.

Second Redaction.

V 3 a 32: E 2 γ 3: R 76 B a 13: D 5 a 6.

172. ¹Seuirem do scēlaib na ²nGāidel ⁊ ³fodessta || ⁴eo
ro ⁵aisnedem do na cōie ⁶tūathaib ⁷ro gabsat ⁸Erind rempu.
⁹Ro gab Cessair ⁊ ¹⁰rempu, || .i. ¹¹ingen⁹ Betha meic Nōe
⁊ meic ¹²Lainiach ||, cethracha ¹³lā rīa ¹⁴ndilind. Rosgab

170. ¹mare derala ²a ³Orea ⁴baita da ⁵dibh ⁶this a om.
O'Curry, wrongly. In F lucht bairei is written instead of the more usual
lucht abairei ⁷ci ⁸im, the / for m ye F ⁹Nae F ¹⁰an (sprs. ye F)
do ¹¹earn ¹²Sleibi ¹³Ladra luaim ¹⁴-ann ¹⁵e. ¹⁶dochuaid
¹⁷Er. ¹⁸written b ca F ¹⁹Firt ²⁰Tuil Tuindi ²¹Carnn Cuili Cessrach
la Connachtaib a cōicait ingen.

170. The crew of three ships arrived at Dun na mBare
in the territory of Corco Duibne. Two of the ships were
wrecked. Cessair with the crew of her ship escaped,
fifty women and three men: Bith s. Noe, of whom is
Sliab Betha (named)—there was he buried, in the great
stone-heap of Sliab Betha; Ladra the pilot, of whom is
Ard Ladrand—he is the first dead man who went under
the soil of Ireland; Fintan s. Bochra, of whom is
“Fintan’s Grave” over Tul Tuinde. Cessair died in
Cul Cessrach in Connachta, with her fifty maidens.

171. These are their As the poet said
names, ut Fintan cecinit *Poem no. XXIV.*

Now these are the names of
the fifty maidens that were
in Cessair’s company, ut
Fintan cecinit

Poem no. XXV.

None of the seed of Adam took Ireland before the
Flood but those.

172. Let us cease [now] from the stories of the Gaedil,
that we may tell of the five peoples who took Ireland
before them. Cessair took [before them]—d. Bith s.
Noe [s. Lamech], forty days before the Flood.

171. The words Ité . . . cecinit look like an insertion in L ¹nir gabh
²om. ³chlaid ⁴Erinn ⁵ndilin ⁶sin.
172. ¹scurium V ²nGoodheal E nGoidel R nGoedel D ³fodesto D
fodesta ER ⁴go E ⁵-dim V faisnedem R aisneidem ED ⁶thu E
⁷dogab D ⁸H- DE (rempo E) ⁹- rosgab em Cesair ingen R. Apparently
roscab E, but the word obscured by an injury to the MS. ¹⁰rempo E
rempa D ¹¹ingen E ¹²looks like Lainiach V ¹³luite R ¹⁴-inn D

¹⁵Partholōn i eind āen bliadna deee ar trī cētaib iarom. Nemed rosgab ¹⁶īarom, ¹⁷īar trichait bliadan. Fir Bole iarom, ‡ īar dā cēt bliadan. || Tūatha Dē ¹⁸Danann iarom. ‡ ¹⁹Gāidil ²⁰īarsin, *usque ad finem mundi.* ||

²¹*Hēriu cia fiarfaighther dim.*

173. ¹Asberat ²araile ³combeth gabāil ⁴an ⁵Ērind rīa ⁶Cessair, ⁷i. ⁸Cappa ⁹γ ¹⁰Laigne ¹¹γ ¹²Luassat, triar ¹³iascaire do lucht na Hespāine ¹⁴dochomlaiset co Hērinn : co ¹⁵facatar a suthaighe, co ro ¹⁶midraiset techt ar ¹⁷eūlu ar ¹⁸cend a trī mban. ¹⁹Ic tintud ²⁰dōib, ²¹dosfarraid ²²diliu ²³corusbāidh ²⁴hic ²⁵Tuaid Inbir, γ ni ²⁶fargabsat ²⁷clanda. *De quibus hoc carmen †dicitur.*

Capa is Laigni is Luasad grind.

174. Do gabāil ¹Cessrach ²andso ³sīs, ⁴γ dia scēlaib ⁵rīa ndilinn.⁴ Ceist : Cia ⁶cēta rogab Hērinn ar ⁷tūs,⁶ īar ⁸tustin talman? Nīnsa. ⁹Cessair, ingen Betha meic Nōe meic ¹⁰Lāmiach, dalta-¹¹side ¹²Sabaill meic ¹³Manūail, *ut †dicitur*

Cessair ingen Betha būain.

175. ¹Asberat araile comad Banba ainm na hīngine sin rogab Ērinn rīa ndilind, γ comad ūaithi nobeth Banba for Ērinn.¹

Doluid ²Cessair ³īarom ⁴a Hindsi ⁵Meroēn ar ⁶teched na ⁷dilend, ar ba ⁸dōig ⁹lese dū na ¹⁰rāncatar ¹¹dōini rīam ¹²cossin, γ nach dērnad ¹³ole na ¹⁴himurbus, γ ro

¹⁵-tol R: hi for i ERD ¹⁶om. E ¹⁷iarndib cetaib bl. E ¹⁸Danond E Don- D ¹⁹Goidhil E Goidil R ²⁰īarsain E ²¹this poem in V only.

173. ¹asb- V asp- D ²aroile ED araili R ³gombeth E combeith R ⁴ind ER in D ⁵Horind D ⁶Cesair VR ⁷om. i. R ⁸Capa ER ⁹γ γc D ¹⁰-gh- E ¹¹om. γ R ¹²Luassatt E Luasat R ¹³iascairel V iasgaire D ¹⁴-omh- E dochumlaisetar R ¹⁵facatt- E facatar RD ¹⁶midraiset E -uis- D ¹⁷cula R ¹⁸cenn DR ¹⁹ic tintudh V ic tintind E oc tintud R ²⁰the b dotted, but probably without significance D ²¹-uid D ²²ins. an R ²³-ros- DER -baid D ²⁴ic E oc R ²⁵Tuaidh V

Partholon took it, at the end of three hundred and eleven years thereafter. Nemed took it thereafter, after thirty years. The Fir Bolg thereafter, [after two hundred years]. The Tuatha De Danann thereafter. [The Gaedil thereafter, *usque ad finem mundi.*]

Poem no. XXI.

173. Others say that there was a taking in Ireland before Cessair, to wit Capa, Laigne, and Luasat, three fishermen of the folk of Spain, who came together to Ireland: they saw its fertility, and decided to come back for their three wives. When they returned, the Flood came upon them, and drowned them at Tuad Inber, and they left no progeny. *De quibus hoc carmen dicitur,*

Poem no. XXII.

174. Of the Taking of Cessair here below, and of the tales told of her before the Flood. Who first took Ireland in the beginning, after the Creation of the World? Cessair, daughter of Bith s. Noe s. Lamech; fosterling was she of Saball s. Manual, *ut dicitur,*

Poem no. XXVI.

175. Others say that Banba was the name of that woman who took Ireland before the Flood, and that from her Banba is a name that Ireland has.

Cessair came thereafter from the Island of Meroe, fleeing from the Flood: for she thought it probable that a place where men had never come till then, where no

†Tuaid E Tuaig D ²⁶īarec- E farc- R farcabsat D ²⁷clanna R ²⁸om. R.

174. ¹Cesrach VRD Chessarach E ²inso E annso R so D ³sies V ⁴om. EDR ⁵iar n- V ⁶cet gabail rogab Eri and om. ar tus R ⁷thus E ⁸second t dotted without meaning V. tustin ER thustin D ⁹Cesair R ¹⁰Laimiach R ¹¹sidhe V ¹²-abh- E ¹³-naill R ¹⁴d̄x. D.

175. ¹in V only ²Cesair R ³om. ED ⁴a hind a hindsi (sic) V a hiansib R a hiansi D ⁵Meren with o γc sprs. E Marahēn R ⁶techedh R ⁷diliu ER dilenn D ⁸doigh E ⁹leisi ER lesi D ¹⁰-ng- D ¹¹doine ED daine R ¹²cossin EDR ¹³olec V ¹⁴himarbus E himmarbus D

sāerad ar bīastaib 7 mīchuirthib in ¹⁵domuin, ¹⁶combad sāer ¹⁷in dū ¹⁸sin ar ¹⁹dilind. Oeus ro ²⁰indisetar dana a ²¹druidhi di ²²Hērin fon imas sain, 7 ara ²³tiset co Hērinn. ²⁴Conid aire sin ²⁵do riacht ²⁶Cessair for iarair ²⁷Hērenn.

176. Dia Mairt a ¹hindse ²Meroēn, ³ar fut ⁴srotha Nīl. Secht mblíadna dī fri ⁵tāeb ⁶Eigipti. ⁷Ocht trāth ⁸dēce ⁹dī for ¹⁰munciuinn Mara ¹¹Caisp. Fíche trāth ¹²dī o Muir ¹³Caisp ¹⁴cosin Muir ¹⁵Cimerda. Trāth dī ¹⁶do Aissia ¹⁷Bice, etir Siria ¹⁸7 Muir ¹⁹Torrian. Fíchi trāth o ²⁰Aissia ²¹Bice, ²²ic seōlad ²³co Helpa. ²⁴A hocht dēce o Elpa co Hespāin. Nōi trāth ²⁵dī o Espāin co ²⁶Hērinn. Dia ²⁷Sathairn do riacht ²⁸Hērinn, 7 ²⁹cōje dēce ³⁰forsin ³¹Sathairn sin, amail ³²asbert in ³³file,

Cessair can as tainic si.

177. ¹Cethracha lā rīa ²ndilind ³trā ⁴do ⁵ruachtatar; lucht teora mbare dosrala do Dūn na mBare ⁶in Irrus ⁷Desseirt ⁸Coreco ⁹Duibne. Ro bāidit dā ¹⁰bairce ¹¹dīb, ¹²connach ¹³tērna dīb acht ¹⁴Cessair, lucht a ¹⁵bairce: sē bliadna ¹⁶caocat ar sē ¹⁷cētaib ar ¹⁸mīle o ¹⁹thossuch ²⁰domain ²¹co sin. ²²Cōeca ingen 7 triar fer ²³līn ²⁴battar ²⁵issin luing sin, .i. Bith mae ²⁶Nōe meic ²⁷Laimiach, ōn

imarlus R ¹⁵domain R ¹⁶comad V ¹⁷an R ¹⁸sain E ¹⁹-inn RD ²⁰inn- RD -diss- E ²¹druidhe E druide R -di D ²²Eri R: do riassin E fon inass sin E fon innas sin R foan inas sai the first a gc sbs D ²³-sad (a dot, not a lenition-mark, over the d) V -ssad E -sed R ²⁴conidh E: airisin R ²⁵do riass E ²⁶Cesair R ²⁷Erenn R.

176. ¹hinsi E innsib R hindsin D ²Maracen R ³iar ED ⁴srothae E ⁵toeb RD ⁶Eigipt E Egipte R ⁷.ui, changed to .uiii. E; uii R ⁸dec VR ⁹om. R (bis) ¹⁰muin- ERD -cind E -cinn R ¹¹Caisp R ¹²Chaisp D ¹³co R ¹⁴Cimerdhae E Cimerda R ¹⁵do Aissi V d'Aissia E do Assia RD ¹⁶bic VR ¹⁷is VD ¹⁸Torian V Toirrian R Torren D ¹⁹Assia R Aisia D

evil nor sin had been committed, and which was free from the reptiles and monsters of the world, that such a place should be exempt from a Flood. And her wizards, indeed, told her that Ireland was in that case, and that on that account she should come to Ireland. Wherefore Cessair arrived, in search of Ireland.

176. On Tuesday, from the island of Meroe, along the river Nile. Seven years had she alongside the territory of Egypt. Eighteen days had she upon the surface of the Caspian Sea. Twenty days had she from the Caspian to the Cimmerian Sea. A day had she to Asia Minor, between Syria and the Torrian Sea. Twenty days from Asia Minor, sailing to the Alps. Eighteen [days] from the Alps to Spain. Nine days had she from Spain to Ireland. On Saturday she reached Ireland, and that Saturday was dated the fifteenth, as the poet said,

Poem no. XXIII.

177. Forty days before the Flood they arrived: the crew of three ships chanced upon Dun na mBare in the Southern Promontory of Corco Duibne. Two of the ships were wrecked, so that there escaped none of them save Cessair, with the crew of her ship: a thousand six hundred fifty and six years from the beginning of the world until then. Fifty women and three men were the

²⁰bic VRD ²¹ac R ²²go D ²³.xiii. (om. a) MSS.: ins. trath sec. man. R ²⁴om. R ²⁵Heir- E ²⁶Sat- E -airnn V ²⁷Erind ER ²⁸coiced E ²⁹forin V ³⁰-tharn E tSathairn R ³¹asp- D ³²fili R

177. ¹the -a gc E ²-linn ER ³trath E ⁴a E ⁵-dar EV ⁶an Iorrus E in Hirrus R ⁷deise- R desc- D ⁸Corca ER Chorca D ⁹Dhuibni E ¹⁰bairc ERD ¹¹dibh E ¹²connach ER ¹³terno ER ¹⁴Cesair E ¹⁵-ree ED -rei R ¹⁶caecat V coecat RD ¹⁷cet R ¹⁸mhili E mili R ¹⁹thosach ED tosach R ²⁰domh- E ²¹cus an mblíadain sin RD co sin mblíadain sin E ²²caoga E ²³ins. is e R ²⁴batar VED ²⁵isin ER isind D ²⁶Naoi E Nai R ²⁷Laimiach VD

²⁸ainmnigter Sliab Betha, ar is ²⁹and ro ³⁰hadhnaecht, ³¹i
³²carun mōr ³³Slēibe Betha : Ladra lūam, ōn ³⁴ainmnigther
 Ard ³⁵Ladrand, is ³⁶ēside ³⁷cētna marb ³⁸Ērenn rīa
³⁹ndilind : ⁴⁰atbath do ⁴¹furail banaich, nō ⁴²issē ⁴³lunta
⁴⁴in ⁴⁵rāma ⁴⁶dochuaid ⁴⁷i tarb a ⁴⁸sliasta : secip cruth
 trā, ⁴⁹issē in ⁵⁰Ladru sin ⁵¹cētna marb ⁵²Hērenn.
⁵³Finntān mac Labrada meic ⁵⁴Bethaig meic ⁵⁵Lamiaeh
qui dicitur Mac Bochra, ar ⁵⁶Bochra *nomen matris eius* :
 ba ⁵⁷hē-side ⁵⁸in ⁵⁹macāem ⁶⁰ōn ainmnigter Fert Fintān ⁶¹
 ōs ⁶²Taul ⁶³Tunide.

178. Ro ¹randsat ²in triar fer sin ³in ⁴cōecait ⁵ingen
⁶etorru, ⁷ut ⁸Fintān *dixit*

Cāin raind do raindsemar etrond.

179. Mad āil trā ¹a ²fiss ³tairthiud ⁴Cesra ⁵hi tīr ⁶nĒrend,
 i. ⁷fāith Dē ⁸γ a ⁹thechtaire dia ¹⁰rād fri ¹¹Nōe mae ¹²Lamiaeh :
¹³Dēne ¹⁴airec duit do ¹⁵erannaib ¹⁶ētromaib, ar ¹⁷doraga diliu
 γ ¹⁸dilegfaidh ¹⁹cach mbeo acht ²⁰tussu γ do ben γ do meic γ mnā
 do mae. Ocus ²¹missi, ar Bith, eid dogēn? Nī ²²lēcar ²³damsa,
 ar ²⁴Nōe, ar ²⁵mēt do ²⁶peccaid, do ²⁷lēcan ²⁸sin ²⁹aire. Ocus
³⁰mesi, ar ³¹Findtān hua ³²Lāimiaeh, ³³eid dogēn? Nī ³⁴lium
 a ³⁵chomas, ar ³⁶Nōe, ³⁷Missi, ar ³⁸Ladru, ³⁹eid dogēn?⁴⁰
⁴¹Nimtha a ⁴²chomas, ar ⁴³Nōe, nī long ⁴⁴ladrand ⁴⁵in long-sa γ
 nī ⁴⁶hūaim ⁴⁷thadhat. ⁴⁸Iarsain ⁴⁹doluid Bith ⁵⁰i ⁵¹comairle γ

Laimhiach E Laimiach R ²⁸-ther ED ²⁹ann RD ³⁰haghnaecht E
 hadh- R adhnaecht V ³¹hi ED a R ³²carnd E earn D ³³Sl-i Bethad D
³⁴-ghter E ³⁵Ladhrann ERD (Ladr. DR) ³⁶eisidhe E esin R
³⁷cedna E ³⁸Eir- E H- D ³⁹ndilinn RD ⁴⁰ad bath E ⁴¹fur- D
⁴²ase E ise RD ⁴³lunna E ⁴⁴ina E na R ⁴⁵ramba E ramai D
⁴⁶-aidh V ⁴⁷a ER hi D ⁴⁸sliasta D -sda E ⁴⁹ise ERD : an R
⁵⁰Ladra ERD ⁵¹cedna E ⁵²Eir- E Er- R ⁵³Findtan E Fintan D
⁵⁴Bethad R ⁵⁵Laimiach E ⁵⁶Bochra V ⁵⁷om. -side RD (*written*
 ba h'ē D, ba h'ē E) ⁵⁸an R ⁵⁹macaomh E -aem γc R ⁶⁰⁻⁶¹tra
 ota Firt Findtain (Fintain D Finntain R) EDR ⁶²Tul E ⁶³Tuinde E
 Tuinne RD.

178. ¹rann- RD -sad E ²an R (*dis*) ³caogad E ⁴n-ingen VD
⁵ins. hi (a R) trib rannaib RD (-uib D) hi tribh randaib E : etarra E
 etorra R ⁶amail asbert Finntan R ⁷Findtan VE.

tally that was in that ship : to wit Bith s. Noe s. Lamech,
 from whom is Sliab Betha named, for there was he
 buried, in the great stone-heap of Sliab Betha : Ladra
 the pilot, from whom is Ard Ladran named—he is the
 first dead man of Ireland before the Flood. He died of
 excess of women, or it is the shaft of the oar that
 penetrated his buttock : whatever way it was, however,
 that Ladra is the first dead man of Ireland. Finntan s.
 Labraid s. Bethach s. Lamech, *qui dicitur* Son of Bochra,
 for Bochra is *nomen matris eius* : he was the youth after
 whom is named “Fintan’s Grave” above Tul Tuinde.

178. Those three men divided the fifty women among
 them, *ut* Fintan *dixit*

Poem no. XXV.

179. Wouldst thou know of the adventure of Cessair into the
 land of Ireland : A prophet of God and His messenger had said
 unto Noe s. Lamech : Make thee an ark of light timbers,
 for a Flood shall come, and shall submerge every living thing
 save only thee and thy wife and thy sons and the wives of thy
 sons. And I, said Bith, what shall I do? It is not permitted
 to me, said Noe, for the greatness of thy sinfulness, to suffer
 thee into the Ark. And I, said Fintan grandson of Lamech,
 what shall I do? I have no power, said Noe. I, said Ladra,
 what shall I do? I have no power, said Noe : this ship is no

179. ¹erasure of about four letters here R ²Fis E fis D ³tairtiudh E
 tairthiud R ⁴Chesra E Cesrai R ⁵i ER ⁶nErind V nEir- E
⁷faid E ⁸tech- DR ⁹radh E ¹⁰Nae V Naoi E Nai R
¹¹Laimhiach ER (m R) ¹²dena ER ¹³aire ER ¹⁴crandaibh E
¹⁵-bh E -omm- D ¹⁶doradha dili E ¹⁷-leghe- E -faid R ¹⁸eech R
¹⁹tusa ERD ²⁰misi ERD ²¹legar D ²²damh- E ²³Naoi E
²⁴meit R ²⁵pee- ER phecuic D ²⁶leic- E lecen R lecon D ²⁷isin E
 (sind D) isind R ²⁸airec D ²⁹misi ERD ³⁰Finnt- D ³¹Laimhiach
 E Lamiach D ³²ciodh E ³³liom E lim R limm D ³⁴com- R
³⁵Naoi E ³⁶misi ER mise D ³⁷Ladhra E Ladhra RD ³⁸⁻³⁹om. R,
 cidh dogen V cidh doghen E ⁴⁰nimta R ⁴¹chommas V com- R
⁴²Naoi E ⁴³latrann D ⁴⁴an R ⁴⁵huaimh E ⁴⁶thadhad E tadh- R
 thad- D ⁴⁷-sin ERD ⁴⁸-uidh VE ⁴⁹a R hi D ⁵⁰comharli E

⁵⁰Findtān γ ⁵¹Ladhru, γ ⁵²asbertatar: Cid ⁵³dogēnum ⁵⁴din
⁵⁵comairle sin, ar is ⁵⁶airehend ⁵⁷co ⁵⁸targa ⁵⁹diliu, γ ⁶⁰eindas
⁶¹nosfrithāilfium? Ninsa, ar ⁶²Cessair ingen ⁶³Betha. ⁶⁴Tabraid
⁶⁵aitidin damsā, γ dobersa ⁶⁶innus ⁶⁷comairle ⁶⁸duib. ⁶⁹Rotbia
⁷⁰an nī sin, ar ⁷¹eat. ⁷²Tabar ⁷³didu lāmdia ⁷⁴chūcaib, ⁷⁵ar sī,
γ ⁷⁶adraid ⁷⁷do, γ ⁷⁸dellaid ⁷⁹fri Dia ⁸⁰Nōc. ⁸¹Tuesat iarom ⁸²dia
⁸³chūcu, γ ⁸⁴issi ⁸⁵comairle ⁸⁶tue an dia ⁸⁷dōib: ⁸⁸Dēnigh
⁸⁹longaiss γ ⁹⁰ēirgidh ⁹¹for muir. Acht nī ⁹²fetadarsom, γ nī
⁹³fitir a ndia ⁹⁴cain do ragad ⁹⁵diliu. Conid ⁹⁶ead ⁹⁷dorigensat,
a n-aire ⁹⁸dognim γ ⁹⁹dula ¹⁰⁰innti, secht ¹⁰¹mbliadna γ ¹⁰²rāithi
¹⁰³rīa ¹⁰⁴tiachtain ¹⁰⁵dilend.

180. ¹Is ²hē ³līn lotar ⁴hissin ⁵aire ⁶sin: cōica ingen im
⁷Chessair ⁸γ im ⁹Bairrinn γ im ¹⁰Balba ¹¹γ im ¹²Findtān γ im
Bith γ im ¹³Ladra. ¹⁴Ro ¹⁵sīrsitar trā ¹⁶Ēgipt γ rl., co
¹⁷riachtatar ¹⁸co ¹⁹Hespāin. ²⁰Rostimart ²¹doinend γ ²²anfud
²³co Hērinn fri rē ²⁴nōi trāth, ²⁵congabsat ie Dūn na ²⁶mBarc
iar ²⁷nĒrinn, ²⁸γ ²⁹dolotar cona mnāib co ³⁰Miledach—γ Bun
³¹Suainme ³²ind inbaid sin ba ³³hainm dō .i. ³⁴sūainium ³⁵Sūiri
³⁶γ ³⁷sūanem ³⁸Ēoire γ ³⁹sūainem ⁴⁰Berba: γ ⁴¹issē sin ⁴²Comur na
Trī ⁴³nUsqi, do ⁴⁴chummuse na trī ⁴⁵n-aband.

181. Ocus ¹rannsat ²in ³cōicait ⁴n-ingen ⁵hi trī, γ rue ⁶Findtān
⁷Cessair do ⁸rogain, γ ⁹secht ¹⁰mnā dēce ¹¹maille ¹²fria: rue Bith

ccomairle D ⁶⁰Finntain E Finntan RD ⁵¹Ladhra E Ladra RD
⁵²adb- E ⁵³dodenan (sic) E dodēnum R dogenam D ⁵⁴don E
⁵⁵chomairle D: -leisi E and om. sin E ⁵⁶airend E aircenn RD
⁵⁷go E ⁵⁸targa R ⁵⁹dili E ⁶⁰cinnas EDR ⁶¹alfam ERD
⁶²Cessair ERD ⁶³Bethu R ⁶⁴-uid E ⁶⁵aididin E aitidin D
⁶⁶written innu; V: indas R inus D ⁶⁷comhairli E ⁶⁸duibh E
⁶⁹rodbia E ⁷⁰ani E in nī RD ⁷¹iad E ⁷²-air E ⁷³om. E dana R
⁷⁴ins. ar si RD: eugaib E eucaib R ⁷⁵om. ar si RD ⁷⁶-aidh V
⁷⁷dho the dot of aspiration apparently ins. sec. man. D ⁷⁸deall- E
⁷⁹fria E ⁸⁰Naoi E Noi R ⁸¹tugsad E ⁸²dee R ⁸³chuea ED
⁸⁴cuca R ⁸⁵asi ER isi D ⁸⁶comhairli E comairli R ⁸⁷tug ED
⁸⁸doibh E ⁸⁹dengid longus VE denid D denaidh R ⁹⁰longais RD
⁹¹eirgid E ergid DR ⁹²fo with r sprs. γc V: fur E ⁹³feadatar E
⁹⁴fetatar RD ⁹⁵fit- E ⁹⁶evin VER qī D ⁹⁷dili ER ⁹⁸eadh V
⁹⁹ed ER hed D ¹⁰⁰doromsad E ¹⁰¹gniomh E ¹⁰²dol E ¹⁰³nt E
¹⁰⁴inti D ¹⁰⁵om. m- V ¹⁰⁶raiti E raithe R rathi D ¹⁰⁷re E
¹⁰⁸tiachtain RD ¹⁰⁹dilinn R.

ship of robbers and no den of thieves. Thereafter Bith and
Ladra and Fintan came to consult together, and they said:
What shall we do for that counsel, for it is final that a Flood
shall come, and how shall we make us ready for it? Easy!
said Cessair, daughter of Bith. Give submission to me, and I
shall give you a manner of counsel. Thou shalt have that, said
they. Take then to yourselves an idol, said she: worship it,
and sunder you from the God of Noc. So they took a god unto
themselves, and this is the counsel that it gave them: Make ye
a voyage, and embark upon the sea. But they knew not, nor
did their god know, when the Flood should come. Accordingly
what they did was to make their Ark, and to go into it, seven
years and three months before the coming of the Flood.

180. This is the tally of those who went in that ark: fifty
women in the company of Cessair and Bairrind and Balba and
Fintan and Bith and Ladra. They sought out Egypt (and so
forth) till they reached Spain. Storm and tempest drove them
to Ireland in a space of nine days, till they landed at Dun
na mBarc, behind Ireland, and they came with their women
to Miledach. At that time Bun Suainme was its name, from
the confluence of the Suir, the Nore and the Barrow. That is
the Meeting of the Three Waters, from the mingling of the
three rivers.

181. They divided the fifty women into three shares. Fintan
took Cessair for choice, and seventeen women with her: Bith

180. ¹his D ²e RD ³lion E ⁴isin ER bisin D ⁵airce VD
⁶om. sin ERD ⁷Chesair E Cessair RD ⁸om. γ D ⁹Bairrinn ER
Bairrind D ¹⁰Balbu R ¹¹⁻¹²um Bith γ um Finntan γ um Ladra R:
im before Findtān γc V ¹³Findtann E ¹⁴Ladhra E ¹⁵sirsidar E
sirsetar R sirset D ¹⁶Eighipt E Egipt RD ¹⁷-dar E ¹⁸om. co R
¹⁹Espain R ²⁰rotimart R ²¹-nenn D ²²anfud R ²³om. co
Hērinn R co Heir- E ²⁴nōc V naoi E ²⁵ins. o Espain co Hērinn R:
-sad E ²⁶mBarc V ²⁷nEir- E ²⁸om. γ R ²⁹dolotar R
³⁰Miledach ERD ³¹Suainmi ER ³²an R ³³om. h- E ³⁴Suainem
ED (bīs) Suainem . . . suainem R ³⁵Suire ERD ³⁶om. γ R
³⁷Bernaui D ³⁸is e R is he D ³⁹Comar ERD ⁴⁰nUsqi E nUisqi R
⁴¹commuse E comusec R chumusec D ⁴²n-aband ER n-abonn D.

181. ¹randsat ER ²an R ³coecat E .la R ⁴om. n- ER
⁵i E a R ⁶Cessair R ⁷rogu E roga D ⁸ins. a R ⁹mna
sprs. γc D ¹⁰ins. dana R: imaille ER maille D maille R ¹¹frie ERD

¹²secht ¹³mnā dēce ¹⁴im ¹⁵Bairrind. Rue ¹⁶Ladru sē mnā dēce
¹⁷im Balba, 7 ba dīndach de. Ocus ¹⁸doluidh leo ¹⁹in Ard
²⁰Ladrand, 7 rl.

182. ¹Ocus ²dolotar na sē mnā dēc ³sin co Cessair 7 ⁴asbertsat :
Cid ⁵dogēnum fodechta? ⁶Fāilte ⁷tehta o ⁸Chesair co Bith 7
⁹adehomairec ¹⁰cid ¹¹dogēntais na mnā. ¹²Doluid *post* Bith co
¹³hāit ¹⁴mbāe ¹⁵Finnān, ¹⁶7 ¹⁷randsat ¹⁸in coicait mban ar dō,
7 ¹⁹rue Bith ²⁰coic mnā fichet dīb co ²¹tūascert ²²nĒrenn.
²³Atbath Bith in a slēib.²³

183. Is ¹iarom lotar ²in bandtrocht ar ³eūlu, co ⁴harm i
⁵fargabsat ⁶Cessair 7 ⁷Fintān. ⁸Ēlāid iarom ⁹Fintān for ¹⁰teched
¹¹ria na mnāib uile, dar Bun ¹²Sūainme i. ¹³dar ¹⁴Sīūr, ¹⁵7 dar
Slēib Cūa, hi ¹⁶Cend ¹⁷Febrat innsin, 7 ¹⁸a lām ¹⁹clē fri ²⁰Sinaid
sāir co ²¹Tul ²²Tuini os Loch ²³Dergdherce. ²⁴Doluid *post*
²⁵Cessair co Cūil ²⁶Cesra i Conachta 7 a ²⁷bandtracht ²⁸lē, 7
²⁹muigis a ³⁰eridhi ³¹inti do ³²ingmais a fir 7 do ēc a ³³hathar.
³⁴Ocus ro ³⁵forbadh ³⁶andsin ³⁷in ³⁸aimser o ³⁹Adam co dīlinn
acht ⁴⁰secht lāe *tantum*.

184. Acht is do aimsir ¹Adaīm domuinter ²in gabāil ³so ⁴Chessrach.
⁵Ind ⁶aimsir ⁷so imorro o dīlinn co ⁸Habrām, 7 ⁹cosin ¹⁰nōmaid bliadain
faithiusa ¹¹Abraīm, ¹²nocho frith ¹³Hēriu conasfuair Partholōn: ¹⁴7 bāe
tri cēt bliadan for ¹⁵Hērinn co ¹⁶rus-dilegh ¹⁷in ¹⁸mortlaid. Isin ¹⁹cetramudh
bliadain ar sē cētaib do aimsir Abraīm tānle ²⁰Nemedh ²¹ochtar ²²an
Hērinn: ²³7 ro ²⁴fallna ceithre cēt bliadan ²⁵for ²⁶Hērinn. ²⁷Hēriu iarsin,
dā cēt bliadan ²⁸fāss, 7 ro ²⁹forbad ³⁰faithius Abraīm ³¹andsin acht ³²ceithre
³³bliadna. Gabsat *post* Fir ³⁴Bolc ³⁵hi ³⁶tossuch na ³⁷ceithre bliadan do
³⁸deriud flatha ³⁹Abraīm. Ar isin sē bliadan ar trichat iar ngabāil do

¹²ins. a R ¹³om. R ¹⁴um R ¹⁵Bairrind ERD (-inn R) ¹⁶Ladra ER
¹⁷om. im Balba RD ¹⁸doluid ED dolluid R ¹⁹ind E ²⁰Ladrann R.
182. ¹occus E, om. R ²doluidset E dollotar R ³om. sin R:
co *spr.* ⁴yc E ⁵isbertsat E asbertatar R asbert D ⁶dodenam E
dogenam DR ⁷foitte E foite R foiti D ⁸tecta V ⁹Cesair R
¹⁰aire ED itcomaire R ¹¹om. cid V ¹²-taiss V ¹³dolluid R
¹⁴hāit V ait R ¹⁵a mbāe E a mbai RD ¹⁶Fintan ED Findtan R
¹⁷om. 7 R ¹⁸rannsat ED ¹⁹an R ²⁰ruce E ²¹cuie R
²²tūascert ERD ²³om. n-ER: -end E ²⁴⁻²⁵om. ERD.

183. ¹iarum R an R ²bantracht ER banntrocht D ³culae E
cula R ⁴airm E hairm DE ⁵fargarbsad V ⁶Cesair D Ces. om.
and ⁷yc R ⁸Finnān VD ⁹elaidh V helaid ERD ¹⁰Fintan iarom R
¹¹teiched R ¹²rias ER ¹³Ruainme V Suanmhi E nmi D ¹⁴tar R
¹⁵Suir ER ¹⁶om. 7 ERD ¹⁷cenn ED ¹⁸Febrad R ¹⁹om. a R
²⁰chle D ²¹-ainn RD ²²ins. rainic R: Taul E ²³Tuinni E

took seventeen women including Bairrind: Ladra took sixteen
with Banba, and was dissatisfied thereat. And he came with
them into Ard Ladrand (and so forth).

182. And those sixteen women came to Cessair and they
said: What shall we do now? Messengers were sent from
Cessair to Bith, and she asked what the women should do.
Afterwards Bith came to the place where Fintan was, and they
divided the fifty women into two shares, and Bith took twenty-
five women of them to the north of Ireland. Bith died in his
mountain.

183. Thereafter the women went back, to the place where
they left Cessair and Fintan. Then Fintan escapes, a-fleeing
before all the women, across Bun Suainme, that is, across the
Suir, and over Sliab Cua, which is in Cenn Febrat: left-hand
to the Shannon eastward, to Tul Tuindi over Loch Dergdeire.
Post Cessair came to Cul Cessrach in Conachta, and her women
with her; and her heart brake within her for the absence of her
husband and for the death of her father. Then was completed
the time from Adam to the Flood, save seven days *tantum*.

184. But it is to the epoch of Adam that this Taking of Cessair is
reckoned. In this epoch, moreover, from the Flood to Abraham, and to
the ninth year of the reign of Abraham, Ireland was not discovered till
Partholon found it; and he was three hundred years over Ireland till the
pestilence quenched him. In the six hundred and fourth year of the epoch
of Abraham the Nemed-octad came into Ireland; and it had dominion
four hundred years over Ireland. Thereafter Ireland was for two hundred
years desert, and then the epoch of Abraham was completed, save four
years. The Fir Bolg *post* took it, in the beginning of the four years of

Tuinne RD ²³Deirg- RD -derce E -dere RD ²⁴doluidh E dolluid R
²⁵Cesair RD ²⁶Cesair R; om. i Conachta ERD ²⁷bantracht E
banntrocht D bantracht R ²⁸om. le R ²⁹maidis ER maidis D
³⁰eridi ER eride D ³¹innti ER ³²ingnaiss V ³³om. h- R
³⁴om. 7 R ³⁵-bad ERD ³⁶ann- ERD ³⁷ind E an R ³⁸-sir ER
³⁹Adham E ⁴⁰iiii. ER: la R.

184. ¹Adhaim VE Aduim D ²an R ³seo R ⁴Cesra R ⁵in R
⁶-ser ED ⁷om. so imorro, ins. tra R ⁸Habraam R ⁹cosind E
¹⁰nomad V ¹¹Abraaim R ¹²noco ED nochas R ¹³Er- E Ēri R
¹⁴om. 7 R ¹⁵Erind R ¹⁶ros EDR -dileg ERD ¹⁷i m- E an R
¹⁸-aidh V: mortflaid E ¹⁹-mad D cetrumad R ²⁰-med ER ²¹uiii. R
²²ind E in DR ²³om. 7 R ²⁴fallna E fallnastar R ²⁵ind E
²⁶Hereo E ²⁷Héri R ²⁸fas RD ²⁹-badh VR ³⁰faith R
³¹annsin DE ann R ³²uii. D ³³om. R ³⁴Bolg ED ³⁵i R
³⁶tosach RD ³⁷uii. mbl. R ³⁸deiriud E deirid R ³⁹Abraaim R

⁴⁰Feraib ⁴¹Bole co tancatar ⁴²Tuath Dē Danaun, ⁴³co rogabsat for ⁴⁴Firu Bole: tricha bliadan *tantum* ro ⁴⁵leiced ⁴⁶flaithus dōib. Remis imorro gnīma ⁴⁷Tempuil Solman do ⁴⁸dochatar Meic ⁴⁹Miled, la Lugaid mac ⁵⁰nītha.

185. In gabāil-¹si trā ²Cesra, ³niss ⁴gabait ⁵aroile hison ⁶ngabalaib. Acht ⁷issiat ⁸fofuair ⁹Hērinn ar ¹⁰tūs. ¹¹Acht ni ¹²terna nech dīb-¹³seo ¹⁴uile, acht ¹⁵Findtān ¹⁶namā a ¹⁷āenur, ro ¹⁸bōi ¹⁹isind āaim ōs ²⁰tul ²¹Tuinne fo ²²dilinn; ²³ro ²⁴fuirig Dīa a ²⁵anmain ²⁶and, ²⁷conidh hē ro ²⁸innis ²⁹gabāla Ērenn, ³⁰rl.

Cethracha trāth don tūr tind.

³¹Is amlaid-³²sain ³³dana ro forbad ³⁴gabāil ³⁵Cessra.

Third Redaction.

B 12 a 49; M 271 γ 21.

186. ¹Sguirim ‡ trā || do scēlaib na ²nGāedheal ‡ ³adfeadsam || ⁴go ro aisneidheam do ⁵na secht tūathaibh ⁶ro ghabhsad Ērind ⁷rompu. ⁸Ro ghabh āmh Ceassair^(a) ingean Beathadh meic Nāi, ⁹cethracha lā ¹⁰rē ndilind. ¹¹Parrtholōn mac ¹²Seara, trī ¹³cēt bliadan ¹⁴iar ndilind. ¹⁵Neimeadh mac ¹⁶Aghnomain do ¹⁷Grēgaibh Sceithia, ¹⁸a cind ¹⁹trichad bliadan iar ²⁰Partholōn. Fir ²¹Bolg iartain. Fir Domnand iarsin. Gaileōin marāen riu-²²sin. Tūatha Dē Danand ²³iarsoin. ‡ Meic ²⁴Milidh ²⁵īarsain || ²⁶ut dixit Findtān,

Hēriu cia fjarfaigther dim.

⁴⁰Feruib E Fheraib D ⁴¹Boig D ⁴²Tuatha R ⁴³corceabsat E co rogabsat RD ⁴⁴Fhiru E Fira D ⁴⁵leiceadar E legy D ⁴⁶flaithius ERD ⁴⁷Tempaill Sholman R ⁴⁸-dar E dollotar R ⁴⁹Milid R ⁵⁰om. n. E.

185. ¹seo D om. R ²Cesra V Cess. R Chesra D ³niss ER ⁴gabait ED gabsat R ⁵aroile VR (-li R) ⁶ngabala R ⁷is iat ERD ⁸fouair V fosfuair R ⁹Erind R ¹⁰thus E, tuss D ¹¹om. R ¹²terna D ¹³so RD ¹⁴uili R huile D ¹⁵Fintan R Fintan D ¹⁶namma E om. R ¹⁷oenar ERD ¹⁸bo E bui R ¹⁹isin R sind D ²⁰Tuil R ²¹Tuinne RD ²²dilind R ²³fuirigh VE Fuirig D ²⁴anmuin D ²⁵ann RD ²⁶conide ER conidhe D ²⁷indis D

the end of the reign of Abraham. A series of thirty-six years after the taking by the Fir Bolg, till the Tuatha De Danann came, who took it over the Fir Bolg: thirty years *tantum* was the principedom permitted to them. In the time of the building of Solomon's Temple the sons of Mil came, with Lugaid son of Ith.

185. Now this taking of Cessair, others do not accept it among the Takings: still, it is they who found Ireland at the first. Howbeit not one of all these escaped, save only Fintan, who was in the cave above Tul Tuinde under the Flood. God kept him waiting there alive, so that it was he who related the Takings of Ireland, etc.

Poem no. XXIV.

In this wise, then, the Taking of Cessair came to an end.

186. Let us cease, then, from the stories of the Gaedil [which we have related], that we may tell of the seven peoples who took Ireland before them. Cessair d. Bith s. Noe took it, forty days before the Flood. Partholon s. Sera, three hundred years after the Flood. Nemed s. Agnomain of the Greeks of Scythia, at the end of thirty years after Partholon. The Fir Bolg thereafter. The Fir Domnann thereafter. The Gaileoin along with them. The Tuatha De Danann thereafter. [The sons of Mil thereafter], *ut dixit* Findtan

Poem no. XXI.

⁴⁰cach (gach R, cech D) gabail rogab (rogab- D) Herinn ERD ⁴¹om. 7 rl: ins. amail asbert an fili R ⁴²om. this sentence R ⁴³-sin D ⁴⁴done D ⁴⁵gabhaill E ⁴⁶Cesra V Chesra E.

186. (variants from M) ¹scuiream thra ²nGaeidel ³adfeadam ⁴co ra aisneideam ⁵na seacht tuathaib ⁶rogabsad ⁷rompo ⁸rogob em Ceasair ingen Beatha ⁹ceathracha ¹⁰iar ¹¹Parrtholon ¹²Sera ¹³ched ¹⁴re ¹⁵Nemead ¹⁶Agnoimean ¹⁷Grecaib ¹⁸i ¹⁹tricha ²⁰Parrtholon ²¹Bole ²²-siden ²³-sin ²⁴Milead ²⁵-sin ²⁶amail adfed in t-eolach annso: (.i. Fintan cc. sbs.).

(a) Ceasair glossed .i. Eriu in rough bad hand in M.

187. ¹Cia dín ciata rogaibh Éirinn ar tossaigh talman' ?
Is ead ²asbert ³Leabhar Droma ⁴Sneachta comad Banba
ainm na cēt ingeine ⁵rogabh Éirinn rīa ndilind, ⁊ ⁶gomadh
ūaithi nobeith Banba for ⁷Éirinn. ⁸Trī ⁹eaoga ¹⁰ōgh ¹¹do
dheachaidh, ⁊ triar ¹²fer. ¹³Laghra, in treas ¹⁴fer, is
¹⁵esin cēt ¹⁶marbh Éirenn ¹⁷ansin, ⁊ is ¹⁸ūdadh ainmnigh-
thear Ard ¹⁹Laghrann. Ceathracha ²⁰bliadan ²¹† rīa
ndilind || do ²²bhadar ²³isin n-indsi ²⁴sin. Dosfainig
iarom galar, ²⁵conerboiltidar uile an āen seachtmoin.
Dā ²⁶cēt bliadhan iarsin ²⁷bāi Éiriu ²⁸gan duine beo, ²⁹
conad iarum ³⁰tāinig dīliu³¹: ceathracha ³²bliadan ⁊ lā
ro bāi ³³Ériu fo dīlinn,

no is ceathracha³² lā ³⁴robāi in dīle ³⁵aga fearthain, ³⁶† cāoga ar cēt lā
robāi ³⁷gan tseargadh,

conadh ³⁸ansin ³⁹tug Dīa gāeth do ⁴⁰sūghudh in uisci.

In ⁴¹deachmadh ūathadh ēga, isin mūs⁴² Māi, ⁴³luid Nōe isin n-aire ⁊ a
⁴⁴muindtear ochtair ⁴⁵gus na huilbh ⁴⁶ainmindtibh rog leis. ⁴⁷In seachtmadh⁴⁸
fiehit imorro ⁴⁹isin mūs ⁵⁰cētna athorrach do ⁵¹dechaid aiste, go mad secht
lā dēg⁵² ⁊ bliadain ⁵³desidhēin ro bāi ⁵⁴Nāi isin n-aire. I ⁵⁵seachtmadh dēg
isin mī cētna, i. i mīs⁵⁶ Māi, ro ⁵⁷tindscain in dīliu fearthain.

I cind trī cēt bliadan † iar ndilind || ⁵⁸rogab Parrtholon
Éirind, † no dono ⁵⁹mar ⁶⁰aderam bōs ||, treabhsad a ⁶¹sīl
cōica bliadan ar cōic cēt, ⁶²condaselgadar Concheind, go
na terno neach ⁶³di claind ana beathaigh. Tricha bliadan
iarsin ⁶⁴gan duine ⁶⁵beo ar Éirinn.

187. *In marg. of B:* a Cin Droma Sneachta in beac so sis conigi Ceassair
¹⁻¹ eid cia diducia rogab Eiriu iar tusmead in talman ²asbert ³Cin
⁴Sneachta ⁵rogob Erind ⁶comad uaithi ⁷Erind ⁸ins. ⁊
⁹chaeachad ¹⁰og ¹¹om. do dheachaidh ¹²fer allin ¹³Ladra Luam
¹⁴fear ¹⁵e ¹⁶marb ¹⁷om. ¹⁸uada ainmnigther ¹⁹Ladrann
²⁰glossed no la B ²¹om. ria ndilind do ²²badar ²³isa ²⁴sea i.
inn Erinn: dosfainic iaram ²⁵conderbairt mile re hen seachtmainde
²⁶ched ²⁷do bai Eriu ²⁸can oen duine ²⁹ins. inti ³⁰thanie
³¹ins. forsin n-uile doman coroibe ³²⁻³³om. ³⁴Ern B ³⁵om. robai
in dile ³⁶oc ³⁷† co roibi bliadain acht mī oc tragad na n-uiscad

187. Who then first took Ireland after the
beginning of the world? This is what the Book of
Druim Snechta says, that Banba was the name of the
first woman who took Ireland before the Flood, and
that from her Ireland is called "Banba." With thrice
fifty maidens she came, and with three men. Ladra, one
of the three men, he is the first dead man of Ireland at
that time, and from him is named Ard Ladrann. Forty
years [before the Flood] were they in that island.
Thereafter a disease came upon them, so that they all
died in one week. After that Ireland was for two
hundred years without a living person, and thereafter
came the Flood: forty years and a day was Ireland
under the Flood,

or it is forty days that the Flood was a-pouring, and an hundred and
fifty days it was without drying up,

so that then God sent a wind to suck up the water.

On the tenth unit of the moon, in the month of May, Noe went into
the ark with his following of eight persons, and with all the animals which
he took with him. Now on the twenty-seventh in the next month of the
same name, he came out of it, so that thus Noe was a year and seventeen
days in the ark. On the seventeenth in the same month, that is, in the
month of May, the Flood began to pour.

At the end of three hundred years [after the Flood],
Partholon took Ireland—[or, rather, as we shall say
below], his seed dwelt in it five hundred and fifty years
till the Cynocephali drove him out, and not one of his
progeny remained alive. Thereafter there were thirty
years without a living person in Ireland.

do dreich in talman, ⁊ caeca ⁊ cet ³⁷ins. in dīliu can tragad oc sugad
na n-uiscad do dreich in talman, and om. gan tseargadh ³⁸airisin ³⁹tue
⁴⁰sugad na nuisced ⁴¹⁻⁴²maid uathaid escai i mīs ⁴³doluid Nae
andsa n-aire ⁴⁴muintir ⁴⁵cus ⁴⁶⁻⁴⁷anmandaib ruc leis ⁊ i seachtmaid
⁴⁸i.ii.ii. B ⁴⁹sa ⁵⁰⁻⁵¹chetna athirrach iar mbliadain do deachaid
aiste conad seacht la dec ⁵²denum B ⁵³iarsinde sin ⁵⁴Naei
⁵⁵⁻⁵⁶seachtmad dec don mī chednai i. mīs: om. mī B ⁵⁷thindscain
⁵⁸rogob Parrtholon Erind ⁵⁹ins. a B ⁶⁰adearam beos trehsad ⁶¹sīl
⁶²conad selgadar conchind cona terno ⁶³dīa chloind i mbeathaid ⁶⁴cen
⁶⁵a mbeathaid in nErinn.

188. Mad iar n-aroile ¹slicht imorro, is ²iat so cētna
³† roghabh no || ro lā for ⁴Ērinn rē ndilind i. ⁵Capa 7
 Sluasad 7 Laighne: ⁶acht cheana nī airmid ⁷Gabhāla iad,
⁸ar nīr aitreabhsad iath ⁹n-Ērenn. Is ead so ¹⁰tug an
 Ēirinn, a techt do ¹¹iasgach for muir, gu ro séid in gāeth ō
 Easpāin ¹²gu Hērinn. ¹³Soissid dorīs ar eann a mban
 do ¹⁴aitreabadh Ērenn. O ¹⁵du riachtadar ¹⁶Ērinn
¹⁷dorīsī, ¹⁸dosfarraid in dīliu ¹⁹go rusbāid ²⁰ag Tuadh
²¹Inmir. Conad ²²dīb rochan in ²³file,

Capa is Laigni is Luasad grind.

189. ¹Ceasair ingean ²Beathadh meic ³Nāi, is ī cētna
⁴roghabh Ērinn iar ⁵tuistin talman, ⁶ceathracha lāithe rē
 ndilind.

Dalta-⁷sen Sabail meic ⁸Manail, ⁹ut dicitur

Cessair ingea Betha būain.

190. Mad āil trā iis ¹turrtugudh Ceasrach ²a tīr ³nĒrinn, i.
⁴fāide^(a) 7 ⁵a techtaire dia ⁶rādhā ria Nōe mac Laimiach: Dēna
 aire ⁷adhuit—

B.

do crandaib edroma, ar
 doragha dīliu 7 dīlcaghbaid
 gach mbeo,

triasin fingail moir doroinde Cain
 mac Adhaim ar a og-brathair; 7 nī
 thernoba gan tuitim sa tubaisti sin
 do sil Adhaimh,

M.

ar se, do ehlandaib edroma,
 uair doroga in dīliu, 7 bīd
 dīlgedach each mbeo,

triasin fingail moir doridne Cain
 mac Adaim ar a dearbrathair
 fodein, i. ar Aibel mac Adaim.
 Ocus nī thernoba duine cen toitim
 isin tubaist sin do sil Adaim

188. ¹sleachtaib B ²iad ³om. ⁴Erind ria ⁵Cappa
⁶ins. i. saer 7 liaig 7 iascairi na cerda ro bai con triur sin ⁷this word
 dittographed ⁸uair nīr threbsad ⁹nErind ¹⁰imorro dosfue in
 Erind ¹¹iasgach for muir co ro seit ¹²co ¹³soigsed fis ar cend
¹⁴thoidecht do aitreb co Herinn ¹⁵da ¹⁶Elrind ¹⁷doridise
¹⁸a dot on the final d without significance B ¹⁹co ²⁰oc ²¹Indber
²²doib ²³t-eolach andso.

188. If we follow another version, however, these are
 the first [who took or] who came over Ireland before
 the Flood, Capa and Sluasad and Laigne; howbeit, [the
 Book] of Taking does not reckon them, for they did
 not settle in the land of Ireland. This is what brought
 them to Ireland: their coming upon the sea for fishing,
 so that the wind blew them from Spain to Ireland. They
 came back again to fetch their wives, to settle in Ireland.
 When they reached Ireland once more the Flood over-
 took them and drowned them at Tuad Inbir: so that of
 them the poet sang—

Poem no. XXII.

189. Cessair d. Bith s. Noc, she is the first who took
 Ireland after the Creation of the World, forty days
 before the Flood.

She was the fosterling of Sabail s. Manall, *ut dicitur*

Poem no. XXVI.

190. Wouldst thou know of the adventure of Cessair into the
 land of Ireland: prophets [of God] and His messenger had said
 unto Noc s. Lamech: Make thee an ark—

B.

of light timbers, for a Flood
 shall come and shall submerge
 every living thing,

by reason of the great kin-murder
 which Cain s. Adam wrought upon
 his younger brother: and none of
 the seed of Adam shall escape with-
 out falling in that catastrophe,

M.

said he, of light timbers, for
 the Flood shall come, and every
 living thing shall be submerged

by reason of the great kin-murder
 which Cain s. Adam wrought upon
 his own brother, Abel s. Adam. And
 not a man of the seed of Adam
 shall escape without falling in that
 catastrophe,

189. ¹glossed i. Eiriu sec. man. M ²Beatha ³Nae ⁴rogob
 Erind ⁵thustin ⁶ceathracha laithi re ndilind ⁷siden ⁸Manuailt
⁹om. ut.
 190. ¹turthugud Ceasrach ²i ³nErind ⁴faidi ⁵om. a:
 techtaireda ⁶rada fria Nae ⁷a duid

(a) De has probably dropped out here by homoiotes.

acht tusa ⁊ do bhean ⁊ do tri
meic ⁊ mna do mae,

uair nír cumthaigh sibh re clainn
Cain.

Missi, ar Bith, cred dodhen?
Ní leagar damhsa, ar Noc, air
med do peccad, do legean sa
n-aire. Missi amh, ar Fíndtan
hua Laimiach, cred doghen?
Ní leam do comus, bar Nae.
Missi, ar Ladhra, cred doden?
Nimtha a fíis, ar Noe: nim long
latrand in long so, ⁊ ní huaim
thaidead.

Airsin doluidh Bith i com-
airle ⁊ Fíndtan ⁊ Ladhra ⁊
atbertadar: Cred dodhenum
don chomairli-sa, uair is foir-
ceann gu tora dilind, ⁊ eindas
frithailfimid sind? Athert
Ceasair: Tabhraidh aitidin
damsa, ⁊ dober ceadus daibh.
Rodbia in ní-si, bar iad.

acht tusa ⁊ do bean ⁊ do tri
mee ⁊ do tri hingena .i. mna
do mae.

uair nír cumthaigh sibh re clainn
Cain; ordaigh is i do derbfíur síl
agnál fodein ⁊ t'ingena eo do
maeibh.

Misi, ar Bith mae Nae, craed
doden? Ní feadar, ar Nae,
uair ní leagar damhsa thu ar
med do peccaig dot ligen sa
n-aire. Misi, ar Fíntan mae
Laimiach† dearbrathair de Noe||
cred doden? Ní fillem do
cumachtaib, ar Nae, do legan
isa n-aire. Misi, ar Ladru
luam mae Beathad, cred doden?
Nimtha a fíis, ar Nae, uair ní
leagar . . . sa n-aire.

Misi, ar Ceasair ingen Beathad,
craed doden? Níonfeadar ol Nae,
doig ní leagar sa n-aire lín. Do
feargaidéad Nae friu ⁊ adbeart,

Nim long ladrand in long-sa,
⁊ ní fuaim thechsaiget.

Iarsin doluid Bith i comairli
⁊ Fíntan ⁊ Ladru ⁊ Ceasair, ⁊
atbeartadar: Craed do denam
don comairli seo, ar siad, uair
is foireend eo tora in dilind
tarsin doman, ⁊ eindis frith-
ailfeam? Ninsa, ar *Ceasair
ingen Beathad: .i. aitidin ⁊
ceandus damsá, ar si, ⁊ dober

† ins. above line * glossed .i. Ere in same hand and ink as note (†) in ¶ 188.

save only thou and thy wife
and thy three sons and the
wives of thy sons,

for ye did not company with the
children of Cain.

I, said Bith, what shall I do?
It is not permitted to me, said
Noe, for the greatness of thy
sins, to suffer thee into the
Ark. And I, said Fíntan
grandson of Lamech, what
shall I do? I am not thy
keeper, said Noe. I, said Ladra,
what shall I do? I know not,
said Noe: for me, this ship is
no ship of thieves, no den of
robbers.

Thereafter Bith came into
counsel with Fíntan and Ladra,
and they said: What shall we
do for this counsel, for it is
final that a Flood shall come,
and how shall we make us
ready? Said Ceasair: Give
submission to me, and I shall
give the advantage to you.
Thou shalt have it, said they.

save only thou and thy wife
and thy three sons and thy
three daughters, the wives of
thy sons,

for ye did not company with the
children of Cain, inasmuch as it is
thy sister whom thyself hast, and
thy daughters are with thy sons.

I, said Bith s. Noe, what
shall I do? I know not, said
Noe, for it is not permitted to
me to suffer thee into the ark,
for the greatness of thy sin-
fulness. I, said Fíntan son of
Lamech [brother of Noe], what
shall I do? We would not
stoop to the Powers, said Noe,
to suffer thee into the Ark. I,
said Ladra, the pilot, son of
Bith, what shall I do? I know
not, said Noe, for it is not per-
mitted [to let thee] into the
Ark.

I, said Ceasair daughter of Bith,
what shall I do? I know not, said
Noe, for I have no permission to let
thee into the Ark. Noe was wroth
with them then, and said,

For me, this ship is no ship
of thieves, no den of robbers.

Thereafter Bith came into
counsel with Fíntan and Ladra
and Ceasair, and they said:
What shall we do for this
counsel, said they: for it is
final that the Flood shall come
over the earth, and how shall
we make us ready? Easy!
said Ceasair daughter of Bith.
Give me submission and head-

Tabraidh don lamhdia eugaib, comairli daib. Rotfia amail
ar si, ⁊ adhraidh ⁊ dhe, ⁊ deal-
aigh fria Dia Noe.

dono lam-dia eugaib, ar si, ⁊
adraid de, ⁊ dellaid fria Dia
Noe.

⁹Tugsad iarom dia chuen, ⁊ is i ¹⁰comairle tug an di dōibh :
Dēnaid ¹¹loingeas ⁊ ¹²ēirghid for mūir. ¹³Acht nī iēadadar-
¹⁴sain, ⁊ nī fīdir ¹⁵a ndia, cuin do ¹⁶raghadh ¹⁷an dīliu. ¹⁸Conidh
ead ¹⁹dorōnsat, ²⁰in n-aire doghnim ⁊ dul ²¹indte, ²²secht
mbliadna ⁊ ²³rāithe rīa ²⁴ndilind.

191. Is ē ¹hu lōdar ²isin n-aire, .i. ³cāoga ingen im ⁴Ceassair
⁊ im ⁵Barrfind ⁶⁊ im Balba ⁊ im ⁷Fintan im Bith ⁊ im Ladhru.

Ocus ⁸ro rāidh Nae friu : ⁹ar sē, co ¹⁰himeall
iarthorach in domain, beas ¹¹gu rīa in ¹²dīli.

192. Dia Mairt iarom, ⁊ ar a ¹cūigead dēg ²in ēsea,
ro glūais ō ³indsibh Mara Hen for Sruth Nil ⁴in Egipt.
Bāi ⁵dēce mbliadan ⁊ ⁶no a secht || ⁷in Eighipt. Fīchi
⁸trāth dī ⁹for muinehind Mara ¹⁰Casp. Da ¹¹trāth dēg
dī for Muir ¹²Caisp ¹³fein gu riacht ¹⁴a Muir ¹⁵Cimirdha.
Aen trath ¹⁶ō Aisia ¹⁷Big ¹⁸dī, co Mur Torren. Seōladh
¹⁹fīchit trāth dī co Sliabh ²⁰nEalpa : fria rē nōi trāth
dhī ascin co Heaspāin. ²¹Seōladh nōi trāth dī ō Easpāin
cu Hērenn ⁊ ²².i. ²³ag Dūn na mBare ||,

⁹doradsad ¹⁰comairli tue in dia doib ¹¹loinges ¹²ergid ¹³nair
¹⁴-son ¹⁵in dia ¹⁶thiefad ¹⁷in ¹⁸conad ¹⁹doridne-seom
²⁰an aire ²¹inti ²².nū. *miswritten* .nū. B ²³raithi ²⁴tiachtsin
na dilenn.

191. ¹lind B ²isa ³caeca ⁴Cheasair ⁵Barraind ⁶om. ⁊
⁷Phintan ⁸roraidd dono Eriu (*glossed* .i. Ceasair no Fotla, *in different hand*
and ink from 188¹, 189²) riu eirgid ⁹om. ar se ¹⁰himell iarthurach
¹¹co ¹²diliu.

Take to yourselves an idol, said ship, said she, and I shall give
she: worship it, and sunder you counsel. Thou shalt have
you from the God of Noe. thy request, said they. Take
then an idol to yourselves, said she, worship it, and sunder you
from the God of Noe.

Thereafter they took to themselves an idol, and this is the
counsel that their idol gave them: Make a voyage, and embark
upon the sea. But they knew not, nor did their idol know,
when the Flood should come. Accordingly what they did was
to make an Ark, and go into it, seven years and three months
before the Flood.

191. This is the tally that went into the Ark, fifty maidens
including Cesair, and Barrhind and Balba and Fintan and Bith
and Ladra.

And Noe said unto them: Rise, said he (and go) to
the western border of the world; perhaps the Flood will
not reach it.

192. Thereafter on Tuesday, the fifteenth of the
Moon, she went from the isles of Meroe^(a) upon the
river of Nile in Egypt. She was ten years, [or seven],
in Egypt. Twenty days had she upon the surface of
the Caspian Sea. Twelve days had she on the Caspian
Sea itself, till she reached the Cimmerian Sea. One day
had she from Asia Minor to the Torrian Sea. A sailing
of twenty days had she to the Alpine Mountain: for a
space of nine days had she thence to Spain. A sailing
of nine days had she from Spain to Ireland, [namely at
Dun na mBare],

192. ¹cuiced dec ²om. in ³indsib ⁴an Egept ⁵.u. bl.
⁶om. no a secht ⁷an Egept ⁸tra B (*the final th has been lost*
through the forgetfulness of the scribe at the beginning of a new line)
⁹ar muineind ¹⁰Caisp ¹¹thrath dec ¹²Chaisp ¹³om. fein gu
riacht a ¹⁴⁊ for ¹⁵Chimirda ¹⁶di an ¹⁷Bic ¹⁸⁊ co Muir
Toirriam ¹⁹fīched B ²⁰nElpa ²¹scolad .ix. trath di ota sin
²²om. .i. ²³oc.

(a) In the text "Of the Sea of Hen."

B.

amail asbert
Ifi cuigeadh uathadh gan cill

ut alias dicitur,

Is and ro gabsadar port.

In euigeadh uathadh, for Conad do imtheachtaib Ceas-
Satharrn, amail asbert in rach ⁊ dia sligig adfed in file
file, so,

Cessair can as tainic si.

193. Lucht ¹trī mbare ²dosralla do Dūn na mBare, ³do
erīeh Choreo Duibhne. ⁴Ro bāitea dī ⁵bhaire dībh.
⁶Tērno ⁷Ceassair, lucht ⁸oen bairce, ⁹i. ¹⁰cōica ingen ⁊
¹¹triarr fear, i. Bith mac ¹²Nōe meic Laimiach, dīa
n-aimnighther ¹³Sliabh Beathadh—¹⁴is and ro adhnocht, i
¹⁵earnn mōr ¹⁶Slēibhi Beathadh. ¹⁷Ladhra lūamh, ō
¹⁸nainmnighther Ard ¹⁹Ladhrand, ²⁰is ē cēt marbh
Ērenn.

²⁰rē ndilind, ²¹conas eibil . . . ²²bananaigh; nō ²³sē lunnta in
²⁴reāmha dochuaidh ²⁵a tarbh a sliasta²⁶. Oeus ²⁷cepsi eruth,
is ē cēt marbh Ērenn.

²⁸Adhearait aroile is e in lenb robai
cen airem sa luing leo robaithead i
Tibraid Duin na mBare in la rogabsad
port, i. Bath mac Beathad, conad do
ita in sen-toeol, Ni fagand Bith Bath.

²⁹Fíndtān mac ³⁰Bochna diadā Feart ³¹Fíndtāin ōs Tul
Tuinde, ⁊ ³²Ceassair ōtā Cuili Ceasrae<h> i Connachtaib.

193. ¹ceathra ²tra dorala ³i Coreo Dubne ⁴ins. ⁊ ⁵bairce
⁶ins. ⁊ ⁷Ceassair, glossed i. Eriu as before ⁸u M. ibairce B
⁹om. i. ¹⁰caeca ¹¹oen triarr fer ¹²Nac ¹³Sliabh Beatha
¹⁴ins. uair ¹⁵earn ¹⁶Slebe ¹⁷ins. ⁊: Ladru ¹⁸Ladrand

as one saith

Poem no. XXVII.

ut alias dicitur,

in Coreo Duibne she took
harbour.

On the fifth unit of the
moon, on a Saturday
to be precise, she took port
in Ireland, as the learned saith,

Poem no. XXVIII.

On the fifth unit [of the moon] on a Saturday, as
the poet saith, So that of the adventures of
Cessair and of her route, the
poet saith thus,

Poem no. XXIII.

193. The crew of three ships arrived at Dun na
mBare, at the territory of Coreo Duibne. Two of their
ships were wrecked. Cessair, with the crew of one ship,
escaped—fifty women and three men: Bith s. Noc s.
Lamech, of whom is (named) Sliabh Bethad: there was
he buried, in the great stone-heap of Sliabh Bethad.
Ladra the Pilot, from whom is named Ard Ladrand—he
is the first dead man of Ireland

before the Flood, so that he died of female [excess]; or it
is the stem of the oar that penetrated his buttock. Whatever
form it took, he was the first dead man of Ireland.

Others say that it was the child who
was not reckoned in the ship with
them who was drowned in the well
of Dun na mBare on the day when
they took harbour—Bath s. Bith,
whence is the old saying, Bith leaves
not Bath.

And Fintan s. Bochna, from who is "Fintan's Grave"
over Tul Tuinde named; and Cessair from whom is
named Cuile Cessrach in Connachta.

¹⁹doig is e ²⁰ria ²¹conis ²²-nigh B ²³is e lunda ²⁴raine
²⁵j ²⁶ins. and ²⁷cepi ²⁸in M only. ²⁹⁊ Fintan ³⁰Bochna diata
³¹Fintain oc T. Tuindi ³²Ceassair diata Carn Ceasrach i Connachtaib.

194. Ocus dolodar cona mnáibh co ¹Mileadhach, ²Bun ³Súinbhi in inbaidh sin ⁴ba hainm dō, .i. sūaineam ⁵Siúiri ⁶γ sūaineam ⁷Beōri ⁸γ ⁹sūaineim Bearbha; ¹⁰γ is ē sin Comar ¹¹na Trī ¹²nUisci do ¹³cumase na trī ¹⁴n-abonn ¹⁵ann. Ocus ¹⁶roindseat ann in ¹⁷cāoga ingean ar trī, ¹⁸γ ¹⁹rug Fíndtān Ceassair do rogain ²⁰γ ²¹sē mnā ²²dēg maille fria. ²³Rug Bith secht mnā ²⁴dēc um Barríind, ²⁵Rug Ladhra sē mnā dēc im Balbha, ²⁶γ fa ²⁷dīngach de. Ocus doluidh leo ²⁸in Ard Ladhrand, ²⁹γ rl.

195. Ocus dolodar na ¹sē mnā dēg co ²Ceassair ³† dar ēis Ladra, ⁴|| ⁵γ ⁶atbertsad: Crēd dodēnum budheasta? ⁷Fáidhigh Ceassair teachta co Bith dia ⁸fiarfaigh craed doghēndais na mnā. Doluidh imorro Bith co hāit a ⁹mbi Fíndtān, ¹⁰γ ¹¹raindseat in cāoga bān ar dhō, ¹²γ rue Bith ¹³cūig mnā fichet dīb co Sliab Beathadh ¹⁴a tūaiscert Érenn, ¹⁵γ ¹⁶atbath and.

196. Íar sin lodar in bandtrocht ar ¹eūlu, co hāirm ²a roibhi Ceassair ³γ Fíndtān. ⁴Eoiāidh iaron, Fíndtān ar ⁵teitheadh na mban tar Bun Súainmhe, .i. tar Siúir, ⁶tar Sliabh Cūa ⁷a Cenn Fheabrad meic ⁸Shin, ⁹γ lāmh elē rē Sinaind ¹⁰sair co Tul Tuindī ¹¹ōs Loch ¹²Deirdere. Doluidh imorro ¹³Ceassair co Cūil ¹⁴Ceasrach ¹⁵γ a ¹⁶bandtracht lē, ¹⁷γ ¹⁸moighidh a eraidhi ¹⁹indti do ingas a fir ²⁰γ do ēg ²¹a hathar ²²† ²³γ do ²⁴casbaigh a ²⁵brathar. ²⁶|| Ocus ro forbadh ²⁷andsin in n-aimsir ²⁸ō Ádhamh co dīlind acht sē ²⁹lāithe don aimsir.

Sē bliadna ¹cāocat ar sē ²cētaibh ar míle ³ō ⁴thossach domain ⁵conuige—

in ¹aimsir sin:

sin, dia ndebairt in file
Ced aimsir in beathad bind

194. ¹Milidach ²ins. co ³Suainni ⁴fa ⁵Suire ⁶Beoiri
⁷-eam ⁸om. na ⁹nUisqi ¹⁰chumase ¹¹naband ¹²om. ann
¹³ro randsad andsin ¹⁴chaeca ingen ¹⁵rue Fintan Ceasair ¹⁶secht
¹⁷dēc mailli ria ¹⁸ocus rue ¹⁹dēc im Barraind ²⁰ocus rueustair
Ladru ²¹dindach don roind he. ²²inn.

195. ¹secht mna dēc ²Cesair lareis Ladraindī ³adbeartadar tra,
... Craed dodenamni fodeasta ⁴ro faidistair Ceasair techta ⁵fiarfaide
dodendais ⁶mbai Fintan ⁷ro roindsead na mna ar do ⁸coic ⁹i
¹⁰adbach.

194. And they came with their women to Miledach. At that time its name was Bun Suainme, *i.e.*, the confluence of the Suir, the Nore, and the Barrow, which is called the Meeting of the Three Waters, from the mingling of those three rivers. And there they divided the fifty women into three shares. Fintan took Cessair for choice, and sixteen women with her: Bith took seventeen women including Barrhind: Ladra took sixteen women including Banba, and was dissatisfied thereat. And he went with them to Ard Ladrand, etc.

195. And the sixteen women came to Cessair [after <the death of> Ladra,] and they said: What shall we do now? Cessair sent messengers to Bith to ask what the women should do. Bith came to the place where Fintan was, and they divided the fifty women into two shares: and Bith took twenty-five women of them to Sliab Betha in the north of Ireland, and he died there.

196. Thereafter the women went back, to the place where Cessair and Fintan were. Then Fintan escapes, a-fleeing from the women, across Bun Suainme, that is, across the Suir, over Sliab Cua in the headland of Febra son of Sin, left hand to the Shannon eastward, to Tul Tuinde over Loch Dergdeire. Moreover Cessair came to Cul Cessrach and her women with her, and her heart brake within her on account of the absence of her husband, the death of her father, [and the loss of her brother]. And then the Age was completed from Adam to the Flood, save six days of the Age.

One thousand six hundred fifty and six years from the beginning of the world till—

that time,

then, whereof the poet said
Poem no. XXIX.

196. ¹culaib ²i roibe Ceasair ³γ Fintan ⁴Mar do chondaire sin
Fintan ro claid ⁵teichead ⁶ins. ⁷γ ⁸co Cendabrad ⁹Sin ¹⁰om. suir
¹¹Dergdere ¹²Ceasair ¹³Chesra i Condachtaib ¹⁴bandtrocht
¹⁵moidis ¹⁶na cliab innti an ingnais ¹⁷a dittographed: a brathar B
¹⁸easbaid ¹⁹hathar B ²⁰ins. ²¹i. Ladru luam ²²annsin in aimsir
²³lae ²⁴caecad ²⁵chedaib ²⁶thosach ²⁷conice sin ²⁸above
aimsir, in B, no i mbliadain.

7 is d'aimsir Adhaim domidh-ter in gabhail so Cheasrach. Doig is don aimsir sin Adaim do midithear in gobail-sea Conadh do sin ro can in fili in Cheasrach, conaid desin roehan in t-eolach—

Cethracha tráth don tūr tind.

197. 'Is iad so imorro ammanda in ²eaogad ingen sin
 ‡ ro ³imraidimar inneoch || robadar ⁴a fail Ceasrach.

⁵Ceasair, Lot, Luam, Mā, Marr, Feochair, Femair, Failbi, Forall, Cipir, Torand, Tamall, Tam, Abba, Ella, Ruicene, Sille; mnā F'indtāin sin. Barrann, Selba, Della, Duba, Dos, Fothar, Traigia, Nera, Banda, Tamall, Tama, Nathra, Leos, Fodord, Dos, Clos, Las; mnā Beathad sin. Balbo, Bona, Allbor, Ail, Gothiam, German, Aithne, Inde, Rogairg, Raindi, Iacor, Ain, Rind, Easpa, Sinde, Samall; mnā Ladraindi sin.

⁶Ut Findtān cecinit

Cāin raind do raindsemar etrond.

Ocus nīr gabh neach do cloind Ādham rēn dīlī Ērinn
 acht sain namā.

198. Andsin bliadain deireanaig re ndilind 'tanic Cesair in Erind', uair airmid eolaig na cronicad nach roibi Ceasair beo in Erinn acht se laithi roim dilind: ocus nīr bo beo 'deis dileann don gobail sin Cheasrach ach Fintan na aenur. O dilind co Ābraham da bliadain nochad ar dib cetaib, 7 ni hairmiter comaimsearrdacht risin acht clanna Noe uile ic indugud 7 Fintan na aenur in Erind risi sin. O Abram co David imorro dá bladan seacat ar nōi cetaib eturru-sin: is andsin tindseainter comaimsearrdacht. Nin mac Pel imorro, cet rig na nAsarrda, Jii. Isin dara bliadain cethrachad do rigi Nin, do genead Abram. Isin deachmad bliadain aisi Abrahaim, bas Nin. Samiramis .i. bean Nin a rigi da eis fen, xlu. Bas Airifacsad meic Sem 7 Failleach meic Airifacsad isin re sin. Zaineus .i. Ninias mac Nin meic Peil 7 Samiramis a mathair, ocht mbliadna triehad do, 7 ni airmidtear acht ceathra bliadna da flaithius in tan teasta Nae mac Laimiach. Isin seaseadmhad bliadain aisi Abrahaim tanic Partholon in Erinn, 7 isin sesed bliadain flaithiusa Ninias meic Nin meic Pel.

197. ¹Atiat andso ²chaecaíd ³-eamar romaind neoch ⁴i fail
 Cheasrach ⁵this list omitted B ⁶conad doib sin adfet in file.

and it is to the Age of Adam Certainly it is to that Age
 this Taking of Cessair is es- of Adam that this Taking of
 timated: so that thereof the Cessair is estimated, so that
 poet sang the poem thereof the learned sang

Poem no. XXIV.

197. Now these are the names of those fifty women
 [whom we have mentioned], who were in the company
 of Cessair:

Cessair, Lot, Luam, Mil, Marr, Feochair, Femair, Failbi, Forall, Cipir, Torand, Tamall, Tam, Abba, Ella, Ruicene, Sille; those are the women of Fintan. Barrann, Selba, Della, Duba, Dos, Fothar, Traigia, Nera, Banda, Tamall, Tama, Nathra, Leos Fodord, Dos, Clos, Las; those are the women of Bith. Balbo, Bona, Allbor, Ail, Gothiam, German, Aithne, Inde, Rogairg, Raindi, Iacor, Ain, Rind, Easpa, Sinde, Samall; those are the women of Ladra.

Ut Fintan cecinit

Poem no. XXV.

None of the children of Adam took Ireland before the
 Flood save those only.

198. In the last year before the Flood Cessair came into Ireland: for the learned men of the Chronicles reckon that Cessair was not alive in Ireland save only six days before the Flood: and of that Taking of Cessair there was not alive after the Flood any, but Fintan only. From the Flood to Abraham are two hundred ninety and two years, and no synchronism is reckoned therewith except all the children of Noe increasing, with Fintan alone in Ireland at the same time. From Abraham to David, however, there are nine hundred sixty and two years: then it is that synchronism begins. Ninus son of Belus, first king of the Assyrians, 52 [years]. In the forty-second year of the reign of Ninus was Abram born. In the tenth year of the age of Abram was the death of Ninus. Samiramis, wife of Ninus, in the kingship after himself, 45 years. The death of Arfaxad son of Sem and of Faleg son of Arfaxad (*sic*) in that time. Zaineus, that is, Ninias s. Ninus s. Belus, and Semiramis was his mother, 38 years had he: and only four years of his reign are reckoned when Noe s. Lamech died. In the sixtieth year of the age of Abram came Partholon into Ireland: in the sixth year of the reign of Ninias s. Ninus s. Belus.

198. This ¶ in M only
¹the d underdotted.

¹⁻¹ these words om. and ins. above the line

THE VERSE TEXTS OF SECTION III.

XXI.

R¹ ¶ 165 (L 2 § 4: F 4 β 13). R² ¶ 172 (V 3 α 39 *only*).R³ ¶ 186 (B 12 β 3: M 271 γ 31).

1. ¹Hēriu, ²cīa ³fiarfaigther ⁴dim, 695
⁵atā ⁶līm ⁷eo ⁸grind,
⁹each ¹⁰gabāil ¹¹rosgab
¹²thūs ¹³betha bind.
2. ¹Doluid ²anair ³Cessair,
⁴ingen ⁵Betha in ⁶ben; 700
⁷cona ⁸cōicait ⁹ingen,
¹⁰cona ¹¹triar ¹²fer.
3. ¹Tarraid ²diliu Bith
³i n-a ⁴Shlēib, ⁵cen ⁶rūn:
⁷Ladra ⁸i nArd ⁹Ladrand,
¹⁰Cessair ¹¹i n-a ¹²Cul. 705
4. ¹Mad misi romadnacht,
²Mac Dē dīn, ūas druing:
³ro seib dim in ⁴dilin
⁵ōs Tul Tuindi thruim. 710
5. Bliadain ¹dam ²fo dīlind³
⁴i ⁵Taul ⁶Tuinne ⁷tend;
⁸nī fuaras dom tomaltus
⁹aen-¹⁰chodlad ¹¹bud ¹²ferr.

1. ¹Eri F Elriu M ²ce F M gīa V ³iarfaigther LF (-ter F)
 iarfaiger V iarfaigear B iarfaidear M ⁴dom V ⁵ita M ⁶līm V
⁷gu B ⁸grinn F ⁹gach VB ¹⁰gabail LFV gabhail B
¹¹dogab F rogabh B rusgob M ¹²tus F ¹³bethad FV beathad B
 beatha M.

2. ¹Cessair luid anair V dolluid L dolud F doluid M doluidh B
²anoir M ³Cessar F Ceassair B Ceasair M ⁴ingin F ingean B
⁵Beth V Beathadh and om. in B Beatha M ⁶bind V bean R¹ ⁷caccaid
 V .laid B caeicid M ⁸ingin F ⁹ins. is FV: cana F ¹⁰ins.
 haen B: triur L -ar others ¹¹fear B fear VM.

THE VERSE TEXTS OF SECTION III.

XXI.

1. Ireland—whatever is asked of me
 I know pleasantly,
 Every taking that took her
 from the beginning of the tuneful world.
2. Cesair came from the East,
 the woman was daughter of Bith;
 with her fifty maidens,
 with her three men.
3. Flood overtook Bith
 in his Mountain, it is no secret:
 Ladra in Ard Ladrand,
 Cessair in her Nook.
4. But as for me, He buried me,
 The Son of God, above [the] company:
 He snatched the Flood from me
 above heavy Tul Tuinde.
5. I had a year under the Flood
 in strong Tul Tuinde;
 I found nothing for my sustenance,
 an unbroken sleep were best.

3. ¹taraid V tarraidh B tairraidh M ²dili in F diliud B ³sleib
 FVB sleb M ⁴can F gan B ⁵rūin L ⁶Ladru LV Ladhra B
⁷i n-a ard V ⁸Ladran F Ladhrand B ⁹ins. is M: Cessair
 in cul V Cessair M ¹⁰om. i M: om. n-a V ¹¹cail LBM.

4. ¹This quatrain in M only ²diliu MS.

5. ¹damh B ²fa B ³ins. déin LB ⁴sic L, & others
⁵sic L, Tul others ⁶Tuindi FM Tuinde VB ⁷thend L tend following
 erasure of three letters V teann B theann M ⁸nī fuaras ní im tholmaltus
 L ní uarus am F ní fuarus V ní fuarus im thomultus B ní codlad ní
 coiteltar M ⁹om. aen L en VBM ¹⁰cotlud L cotludh V colludh B
¹¹bo F bad LM budh B ¹²ferr V fearr R¹.

6. ¹Missi ²i nĒirind ³sund, 715
⁴ba ⁵suthain mo ⁶šēt,
⁷conostoracht ⁸Partholón,
⁹anair a tir ¹⁰Grēe.
7. ¹Missi ²sund i nĒirind, 720
³is i ⁴Ēriu ⁵fās,
⁶co toracht mac ⁷Agnomain—
⁸Nemed, ⁹niamda ¹⁰a gnās.
8. Fir ¹Bolg ²is Fir ³Galian 725
⁴tāncatar, ⁵ba cian;
⁶tāncatar Fir ⁷Domnand,
⁸gabsat ⁹irrus ¹⁰thiar.
9. ¹Iarsin ²tānie ³Tūath Dē 730
⁴i n-a ⁵cāebaib cīach;
⁶comba ⁷tormailt damsa,
⁸cīar bo ⁹sāegal cīan.
10. ¹Tāncatar Meic ²Miled, 735
³a ⁴Hespāin ⁵andess,
⁶comba ⁷tormailt damsa
⁸friu, ⁹cīar thrēn a ¹⁰tress.
11. Do ¹roacht ²sāegul sīr 735
³damsa, ⁴nocho ⁵chēl;
⁶conomtharraid ⁷creitem⁸
⁹ō ¹⁰Rīg ¹¹Nime nēl.

6. ¹misce L misi FM ²in Herind L in Er. F ind Erind V an Erinn B
³sunn FB ⁴fa R³ ⁵suastin L ⁶set F sed R³ ⁷conas FVB conus M
⁸Partalon F Parrtalon V Partholon B Parthalon M ⁹anoir VR³
¹⁰Greg R³.

7. ¹messe L misi FM: missi in Er (big is) Eriu, bracketed words ins.
sec. man. in rasura V ²in Herind fōs L an Erinn sunn FB in Erinn fos M
³sisi LM ⁴Heriu L Eriu B Eri M ⁵fass FV ac fas M ⁶co tanc L
contoracht V ⁷Agnon L Agnamaid F Adnomain V ⁸Nemid F
Nemedh V Neimead R³ (-dh B) ⁹nimtha gnās L ¹⁰om. a, gnass V
a ghnas B anas M.

8. ¹Bole VM ²γ B ³Galiōn L Gailoin F Gaileon B Gailian M
⁴tangadar B (bis) -cadar FM (bis, except second time F) ⁵fa M
⁶-nann F ⁷-sad FM gabhsad B ⁸ins. in L: irrus FV hirrus M
⁹thiar R³R³.

6. I was in Ireland here,
my journey was everlasting,
till Partholon reached her,
from the East, from the land of Greeks.
7. I was here in Ireland,
and Ireland was desert,
till the son of Agnomain reached—
Nemed, brilliant his fashion.
8. The Fir Bolg and Fir Gailian
came, it was long ago:
the Fir Domnann came,
they landed on a headland in the west.
9. Thereafter the Tuath De came,
in their masses of fog,
so that there was sustenance for me
though it was a long lifetime.
10. The sons of Mil came
from Spain, from the south,
so that there was sustenance for me
at their hands, though they were strong in battle.
11. A long life fell
to my lot, I shall not conceal it;
till Faith overtook me
from the King of Heaven of clouds.

9. ¹sio VB, -sain others ²tancatar R³V tancadar D tangadar B
³Tuatha L ⁴om. i FR³: om. a V ⁵caipaib L caebaibh B
⁶ins. cian R³R³ ⁷cian como L coma FM go mba B ⁸tormalt LV
the dam of damsa ditto-graphed and expuncted B ⁹ins. friu R³B riu M
¹⁰cebo F gerbo B cerbom M ¹¹saegal L.

10. All MSS. prefix a hypermetric iarsain (LV) or iarsin (FR³) ¹tangadar B
²Milid R³ Miledh V Mileadh B ³Espain F Heaspain R³ ⁴anes R³
aneass V an dheas B aneas M ⁵como L coma FR³ ⁶tormalt LV
⁷riu R³ ⁸cerb tren F ger thren V gerbo tren (a letter erased before
tren) B cer bo tren M ⁹tres FM tress V treas B.

11. ¹sio L, others riacht ²sio LB others saegal ³-mh- B ⁴noca F
⁵cel V a faint mark like a small i above the e, of no apparent significance F
⁶sio L imtarraid F im taraid me V conamtarraigh B coraintarraid (the first
three letters go) M ⁷sio L, creidim F credim V -dem B -deam M
⁸ins. óg L ⁹righ B ¹⁰nime F nime na nell B nimi nell M; nell also V.

12. ¹Missi ²Fintān ³find
mac ⁴Bochna, nī chēl; 740
⁵d'ēis na ⁶dilend ⁷sund
⁸am ⁹sruith ¹⁰ūasal ¹¹ēr.

12. ¹misce L is me M ²Fintan VB ³finn F ⁴Bochna LM
⁵deiss V ⁶dilind F dileann B dilinn M ⁷sunn F ⁸im F fam M

XXII.

R¹ ¶ 168 (F 4 γ 30). R² ¶ 173 (V 3 β 11: E 2 γ 13:
R 76 B a 30 [*first line only*]: D 5 a 21). R³ ¶ 188 (B 12 β 50:
M 271 δ 42).

1. ¹Capa ²is ³Laigni ⁴is ⁵Luasad ⁶grind,
⁷badar ⁸bliadain ⁹ria ¹⁰ndilind 745
for inis ¹¹Banba na ¹²mban;
¹³badar ¹⁴eo calma ¹⁵comglan.
2. Do ¹riachtatar ²Erinn ³huill
cian ⁴Cholomnaib ⁵Ereuil; 750
rogabsat ⁶righe ar ⁷each ⁸dinn,
⁹robōi ¹⁰ind ¹¹Hérinn for a ¹²ciend.
3. Sāer γ liaig luaiter sin,
ocus iascairi angbaid:
cēt triar thānic sund re sel,
an inis mōir Mae Milead.
4. Is ¹ed ²dosfucc ³asa ⁴tig 755
in triar—⁵ingnad ⁶anaichnid—
do ⁷chur lín ⁸i n-uisgi ⁹n-ūar;
¹⁰eo riachtatar in ¹¹cāem-chūan.

1. ¹Cappa R²M ²om. R² ³Laighne VB Laigne M ⁴om. R²
⁵Luasat R² ⁶grinn DE ngrind B ⁷atar R² bhadar B ⁸bliadin F
⁹re n- B roim M ¹⁰om. n- DM ¹¹Banbha EB ¹²mbagh VE mbag D
¹³gabsat R² (bh E) ¹⁴gu B ¹⁵comlan R² (mh E).
2. *this quatrain om. R²R³* ¹adar DE ²Herind V Her- D
³uill VE ⁴Columnaib V -uib D -mh- E ⁵Hireuill VD larchuill E
⁶rigi V rige D ⁷gach V ⁸dind VD ⁹robui VD ¹⁰in VD
¹¹Erind V Herind D ¹²chind V eind D.

12. I am Fintan the white
son of Bochna, I shall not conceal it;
after the Flood here
I am a noble great sage.

¹tssruth F sruth M ²written nasal :: er :: F ³hér L eir VBM.

XXII.

1. Capa and Laigni and pleasant Luasad,
they were a year before the Flood
over the Island of Banba of the women;
they were valorous and equally pure.
2. They reached great Ireland
far from the Pillars of Hercules;
they took kingship over every hill-fort
that was in Ireland before them.
3. As a wright and a leech are those celebrated,
and a ruthless fisherman:
they were the first three men who came here for a
space,
into the great island of the sons of Mil.
4. This is what took them out of their dwelling—
the three—a wonder unheard-of!
For setting nets into cold water;
and so they reached the fair haven.

3. *This quatrain in M only.*

4. ¹ead B sead M ²dosfuc FVDM dosfug B ³as o F assa V
⁴tigh VB tich DE ⁵-adh B ⁶anaichnig VM anaichid D anaithuigh B
⁷cur FBM ⁸an uisgi F an us, V in us, D in usqi E in uisge B an uisqi M
⁹om. n- VDM (uair D) fuar B: uar with prefixed f ye E ¹⁰gu riachtadar
B no eo rancadar M: riachtadar also E ¹¹cain F coem- VM caom- D
chaem- E: -cuan B.

XXIII.

R¹ ¶ 169 (F 4 δ 31). R² ¶ 176 (V 3 β 50: E 2 γ 41: D 5 γ 6: R [first quatrain only] 76 B β 21). R³ ¶ 192 (B 12 γ 51: M 272 β 19).

1. ¹Cessair, ²can as ³tāinic sī,
⁴a triar ⁵ar ⁶ehōicait ⁷eo li? 780
Dia Mairt ⁸ro ⁹glūais, ¹⁰garb in ¹¹secl,
¹²ōtā ¹³indsib ¹⁴Meroēn.
2. ¹Deic ²mblíadan dī ³i nĒgipt aird
⁴fri ⁵tāeb ⁶na n-airir ⁷nirt-gairb:
⁸fichi trāth dī ⁹i n-aire, ¹⁰cen aise, 785
¹¹dar⁸ ¹²muineind Mara mōr-¹³Chaisp.
3. ¹Dā trāth ²dēc ³dī ⁴ō ⁵Muir ⁶Caisp ⁷ehrom
co ⁸riacht ⁹Cimerda ¹⁰trom:
¹¹trāth ¹²dī ¹³i nAissia ¹⁴Bie, ¹⁵sel sīar,
¹⁶idir ¹⁷Aissia is ¹⁸Muir ¹⁹Torrian. 790
4. ¹Fichi trāth ²dī ³ō ⁴Aissia ⁵Bie,
⁶seolad ⁷eo ⁸Halpa ⁹n-orðaire;
¹⁰fri ¹¹rē nāi trāth ¹²luid ¹³alle,
¹⁴eo ¹⁵huillind ¹⁶n-aird ¹⁷nEspāine.

1. ¹Cessair F Cesair R Cessair R² ²cid dia R² (eidh E) ³tanic
VM tanuig D tainig B ⁴om. R²B ⁵ins. fer R²R³ ⁶laid F chaeait V
caehait E choicad D coecait R la B chaecaid M ⁷fo R² ⁸do B
⁹ghl- E ¹⁰garbh isen B ¹¹sen R²R³ (an sen R) ¹²ado F otha REB
oda R³ ¹³hindsib FB innsi VDR indse E ¹⁴Meroen F Meroen R²
(Maroēn B) Mara Hen R².

2. ¹secht R² cuic M ²om. m. M ³an Ēgift F an Ēgipt E:
Ēgipt also VB Egipt M ⁴re R²R³ ⁵taebh B ⁶cach (gach E)
airir imaird R² cach n-airir nirt-gairg M ⁷-garb FR² neart-gairg B
⁸⁻⁹ocht trath dece (dec V) i (a yo E) mbairē (-ce E) nirb aise os (aisec
oss E) R²: .x. trath B ⁹a naire F anoir M ¹⁰can F gan B cen M
¹¹ar B co M ¹²muineind V muineinn E muineind D ¹³Caisp R² Casp B.

3. ¹fichi R² da .x. di M ²deg FB ³om. R² ⁴ar F R² ho V

XXIII.

1. Cessair, whence came she,
her three men and fifty with complexion?
A Tuesday she set forth, rough the story,
from the islands of Meroe.
2. Ten years had she in lofty Egypt
alongside the coast of rough might:
twenty days had she in an ark, without reproach,
over the surface of the great Caspian Sea.
3. Twelve days had she from the crooked Caspian Sea,
till she reached the heavy Cimmerian [Sea]:
A day in Asia Minor, a space westward,
between Asia and the Torrian Sea.
4. Twenty days had she from Asia Minor,
a-sailing to the glorious Alps:
for a space of nine days she went hither,
to the lofty corner of Spain.

⁵Muir E ⁶Chaisp VDM Casp B ⁷crom B chruim V crum E
chrumm D ⁸muirib ED ⁹in Cimirdaid F Cimerdha V Cimere E
Cimeri D in Cimirdha B in Chimearda M ¹⁰comtrum V, apparently also
DE, but unintelligibly contracted (cm) ¹¹ins. aen M ¹²om. M
¹³dAissia VE dAissia D an Aissia B in Aisia M ¹⁴bicc D bhig B
om. M ¹⁵seal B ¹⁶etir VE itir DM ¹⁷Siria R² Assia B Aisia M
¹⁸mur F ¹⁹Toirrian VDM Thorri- B.

4. ¹fiche D ²om. R² ³ond R² in FM an B ⁴Assia VDB Asia E
Aisia M ⁵bicc E bhig BM ⁶ins. ie R² (hie VD): seoladh B ⁷d' R²
⁸Elpa R² Healpa B Helpa M ⁹n-orðaire F airrdirec V airdirec ED
nurrdraic B noirrdic M ¹⁰fri (om. V) ocht trath (om. E) dec (decc E)
tanic (ossin V tainic E) ille (hille D) R² ¹¹rae nae F ¹²luidh B
¹³ale F ille M ¹⁴gu B ¹⁵hullid F huillinn V ¹⁶om. n- FM n-airdd E
¹⁷Esbaine (om. n-) F nEspāne V nEspā. B om. n- M.

5. ¹Assiden ²dī ³i nĒrian āin 795
⁴seōlad ⁵nāi ⁶trāth ⁷a ⁸Hespāin:
⁹dia ¹⁰Sepōit, ¹¹sin ¹²cōiect ¹³chlē,
¹⁴lānie ¹⁵coscar ¹⁶ār ¹⁷erīche.

5. ¹aisiden FM asside R² asiden B ²om. R² ³an Er. F co hEr. R²
 (hEirind E) in Eirū B: *the i of following āin sec. man. in rasura* ⁴fri
 re R² seoladh B ⁵noi R² .x. M ⁶trat B ⁷c E co D (*the c effaced*)
⁸Esp. F Heasp. B ⁹om. dia DE ¹⁰Sathairn V Satharn DE

XXIV.

R¹ ¶ 171 (F 5 a 25). R² ¶ 185 (V 3 s 48; E 3 a 20;
 D 6 γ 7; R 77 a 17 [*first quatrain only*]). R³ ¶ 196 (B 12 s 41;
 M 272 γ 32).

1. ¹Cethracha trāth ²don ³tūr ⁴tind 800
⁵ro ⁶frith ⁷Ēriu ⁸rē ndilind:
⁹Cessaír ¹⁰do fuair ¹¹n-a cucht ¹²cain,
 lucht ¹³a ¹⁴curaig ¹⁵codal-glain.
2. ¹Ass ²tānie, ³oirdere ⁴in seēl,
⁵ōtā ⁶hindsib ⁷Morahēn,
⁸do Muir ⁹Torrian ¹⁰can ¹¹time, 805
¹²ar ¹³teched na ¹⁴dilinde.
3. Triar ¹fer, ²cōica ³ingen ard,
⁴fa ⁵hē ⁶a lin ⁷eo ⁸racht ro-garg;
⁹rostimaig ¹⁰gāeth, ¹¹grinn in ¹²mod,
 co ¹³Hērinn ¹⁴ar imarchor. 810

1. ¹cetracha FD ecathracha R² ²din VDR ³tuir VERR²
⁴dind F thind VE thinn D tinn R thend M ⁵fo frith R² (fofuair E)
⁶frit F ⁷H. V Eire R² (Er. D) Eiriu B Eri RM ⁸ria R² iar M
⁹Cesair ER Ceassair B Ceasair M ¹⁰fosfuair VER fofuair DM
 fobhuair B ¹¹na cuct F fo chucht R² (cucht ER) ¹²chain VDM
¹³om. B ¹⁴craig, a u sprs. *yo* F curaigh ERB curaich M ¹⁵cuchta-
 glan F chodalglain R² (codal- E) codhail-glain B co caemgail M.

2. ¹sic FV as others ²tainie FE tanig DB ³irdraic F (*written*
irdic, with á sprs. to the d. This letter is in a similar hand to the sprs.
u in c(u)raig in the line above, but is not, like that letter, in a different
ink) airdirec V airdeire E aird[er]e D oirrdraic B airrdrie M ⁴iscl B

5. Thence had she into noble Ireland
 a sailing of nine days from Spain:
 on Sabbath, on the unlucky fifth,
 there came the conquering of our country.

Seaboid B Saboid M ¹¹for VER²: *dec after this word sprs. ye V*
¹².u. chle F coicedh VD coicid E cuigedh B ¹³ins. dee ED: cle ED
¹⁴tainie E tainig B ¹⁵do asenam R² (ascam V) guscar B co hur M
¹⁶om. R² ¹⁷erich F chriche D crich ce B Misi Torna do Murcertach
added here E.

XXIV.

1. Forty days of the rapid search
 was Ireland found before the Flood:
 Cessair found it in its fair shape,
 the crew of her canoe of clean hide.
2. She came forth, glorious the story,
 from the islands of Meroe,
 to the Torrian Sea without fear,
 a-fleeing from the Flood.
3. Three men, fifty tall maidens,
 that was her tally with very rough fury:
 a wind drave them, pleasant the fashion,
 to Ireland a-wandering.

⁵ado F othu R² do B ⁶insi VD innsi E indsi B indsi B M ⁷Mora
 hen F Meroen R² (Macroen E) Marahen R² ⁸dar R² tar M ⁹Toirrian R²
 Torren B Thoirian M ¹⁰cen VDM gant time E gan B ¹¹timmi D
 timi M ¹²for VE ¹³teicid F teichedh V teithedh B teichead M
¹⁴-ndi FM -nni D.

3. ¹fear B ².l. F caoga E caeca M ³ingin F ⁴ba VEDB
⁵om. he a F: he i B ⁶allin D ⁷fria V fri ED gu B ⁸recht R²
⁹rostimart R² (air with t *yo* E) ¹⁰gaoth E ¹¹granda V grainne ED
 grind B mor M ¹²mogh V an mod E modh B ¹³om. H- F: Heir. E
¹⁴iar n-iomarcor E ar immarchor D ar imochor B.

4. ¹Rainnset ²in triar ³fer ⁴co li
in ⁵cōicait ⁶n-ingen ⁷ar tri;
⁸secht mnā ⁹dēc ¹⁰d'Fhintān ¹¹ean tas,
a secht dēc ¹²rue Bith ¹³barr-chas.
5. ¹A sē dēc ²rue ³Ladra lōr, 815
⁴ba ⁵bee ⁶leis sin, ⁷nīr ⁸bo ⁹mōr;
do dul ¹⁰chuea, ¹¹ba ¹²gnīm ¹³gand,
¹⁴de is marb ¹⁵Ladra ¹⁶i nArd ¹⁷Ladrann.
6. ¹Rainnset ²in ³dias ⁴aile ⁵i ndō 820
⁶a ⁷sē ⁸mnā dēc-son ¹⁰iar lō:
¹¹is ¹²iat ¹³cēt-fir, ¹⁴fri ¹⁵sāirī ¹⁶seng,
¹⁷taesat ¹⁸fri mnāib ¹⁹i ²⁰nĒrinn.
7. ¹Cōie mnā ²fichet ³rue ⁴Bith ⁵benn
co ⁶hairther ⁷tūaiscert ⁸Ērenn;
⁹co Sliab ¹⁰Betha, ¹¹ōs an muir ¹²mas— 825
¹³ann ¹⁴tānie a ¹⁵thiugradus.
8. De-sin ¹atā ²Sliab ³Betha,
⁴d'ēc ⁵in ⁶lāich ⁷co līn ⁸ngretha:
do na ⁹mnāib fa mōr in ¹⁰mod,
¹¹isin ¹²tslēib ¹³a ¹⁴adnacol. 830

4. ¹rainset F randsat V randsad EB rannsat D roindsead M ²an E
³fer *yo* V fear B ⁴go B ⁵.l. ingin FB coecait V coicaid D caeca M
⁶ingen R³ ⁷a trii V a tri EB hi tri D ⁸ocht E ⁹deg B
¹⁰dintan F do Finntan V d'Findtan EB d'Finntan D ¹¹can tais F gan
tas *yo in marg.* V, *yo* E cen tas D adclas B roelos M ¹²rug EB
¹³barrchaas VB barrcas E.

5. ¹a sse dec V a se deg EB se mna dec M ²rug EB ³Ladru V
Laghr E Ladhra B ⁴fa M ⁵beg EB ⁶les sin VD leisium B
⁷ins. is R³: *nir bo changed by a re-inker to nirbo* V ⁸bu D om. R³
⁹lor F ¹⁰chuco V euctha E chuq D chucu R³ ¹¹fa M ¹²gniomh E
¹³gann FDB ¹⁴atbath VDB adbath EM ¹⁵Ladran (*but looks like*
-nan) F Ladhra EB ¹⁶an E in nArd B ¹⁷Ladrann ED.

6. ¹rainnsid F randsat V rannsat an E rannsat D roindsead B roindsed M
²an E ³dias V ⁴aili F oile E eli D ele B ⁵ar lo R³ ar do R³
(dho B) ⁶fa B ⁷xulii. FB se M ⁸mnaihb B ⁹om. F som VD
sin B ¹⁰ar do V in do E an do D ar lo B ¹¹om. is VED: siat FB

4. The three complexioned men divided
the fifty maidens into three shares:
seventeen women to Fintan without a dwelling,
Curl-haired Bith took seventeen.
5. Ladra the sufficient took sixteen,
he thought it small, not great:
from going to them—it was a mean action—
thence is Ladra dead in Ard Ladrann.
6. The other twain divided into two shares
his sixteen women, on the following day.
They are the first men, with slender nobility,
who foregathered with women in Ireland.
7. Twenty five women did Bith of peaks take
to the north-east of Ireland;
to Sliab Betha, over the beautiful sea—
there came his last liability.
8. Thence is Sliab Betha [named],
from the death of the warrior with abundance of
outcry:
to the women the work was great,
to bury him in the mountain.

¹²jad EM ¹³.c. fir F ched M ¹⁴re B om. M ¹⁵saire ED saeri B
¹⁶sing F seing EB ¹⁷taetsad F faisat R³ (faisid E) faisid M taethsat B
¹⁸re R³R³ ¹⁹an FVEB ind D ²⁰Ērenn V.

7. ¹cuic FM coig E ²ficheat B fichit M ³rug EB ⁴Bit E
⁵bann F bend V beann B ⁶hart- F hiarthar VED horrthar B hoirthear M
⁷tuaiscirt F indsi R³M thuaiscert B ⁸Herenn VD Heir- E Herend M
⁹cosin VD cusan E ¹⁰Beatha F om. R³ Sliabh Beathadh B Beathad M
ossin V ¹¹os in EDB os (*om. an*) M ¹²mas, *last two letters re-inked* F
mass V mhass B ¹³hi R³ (a E) and B de M ¹⁴tainic FB tainig E
tanuig D thanic M ¹⁵tignadus (*sic*) F thiugradas R³ (-dhass V tiugradhus
E) thiug-flaitheas R³.

8. ¹ita M ²sliabh B ³Beathadh B Beathad M ⁴deg FB decc E
deis M ⁵a F an E ⁶laoich E laech D laith B ⁷co lion E collin D
⁸gretha E aigretha D ngreathad B ngreathad M ⁹mnaihb ba mor an
mod E: ba also VD ¹⁰modh VB ¹¹issin V ¹²sleib V tleibh B
tleb M ¹³da V dia B ¹⁴adnacad F adhnac- E adhnacol B adnocol M.

9. ¹Doluid ²Fintān ³rīa na ⁴mnāib,
⁵dar ⁶Miledach, ⁷fa sūan ⁸sāim:
⁹dar Bun ¹⁰Sūainme ¹¹re snīm slat,
¹²dar ¹³Slīab ¹⁴Cūa, ¹⁵tar ¹⁶Cenn Fhebrat.
10. Iar na ¹n-airther—nūall ²can ³gāi— 835
⁴doluid ⁵Fintān mac ⁶Bochrāi:
 eo ⁷rāinic, iar ⁸ndith a ⁹nirt
 eo Tul ¹⁰Tuinde ¹¹ōs Loch ¹²Dergdere.
11. Iar sin ²doluid ³Cessair ⁴chain,
⁵co Cūil ⁶Chessra ⁷i ⁸Connachtaib:
⁹conad ¹⁰ann ¹¹dochūala, ¹²iar ¹³ffes,
¹⁴ēe a ¹⁵hathar na hēmaīs. 840
12. Iachtaid in ²ben co ³hachar
⁴d'ēis a fir, ⁵d'ēe a ⁶hathar:
⁷do mebaid ⁸dī, ⁹fa ¹⁰maich mōr,
 a ¹¹erīdi ¹²n-a cert-¹³medōn. 845
13. Is iat ²sin, ³uair is bechta,
 a ⁴n-aided, a ⁵n-imthechta:
 nī ⁶raibi acht ⁷sechtmair ⁸namā,
⁹uadib ¹⁰cosin ¹¹cethracha. 850

9. ¹-luidh VEB ²Findtan VEB ³re FR² ⁴mnaibh FEB
⁵tar M ⁶Miledach F Miledach V Miledach E Miledach D Miledach B
 Miledach M ⁷ba R²B ⁸sam F saimb B ⁹tar M ¹⁰suanba F
 suainmi V suainmi E ¹¹ro VD tar M ¹²tar FB ¹³Slīabh B
¹⁴Fuaid M ¹⁵dar R² ¹⁶Cenn Abrad F Cenn Febrat R² (Feab. E -tt D)
 Cenn Fhabhrat B cend nAbrad M.

10. ¹nairter FV naircer E nairrthear B noirthear M ²cen V gen D
 gan B ³gōi R² ⁴-dh E ⁵Finntan V Findtan EDB ⁶Bochai F
 Bochoi E Bochnai B ⁷ranic VM rannig D ⁸nith F ⁹nert V
 neirt EB ¹⁰Tuindi FVM Tuinne D ¹¹co B ¹²Dergert F
 Dergdeire DB.

11. ¹iarsain V ²doluidh VB ³Cesair FED Cheasair M ⁴cain R²B
 choin M ⁵go B i M ⁶Cesra FR² Ceasair B Cheasra M ⁷hi V a E
⁸Connachtaib FEM (-bh E, also B) ⁹conid R² (-dh V) ¹⁰and V is and R²

9. Fintan came before the women,
 over Miledach, it was a pleasant repose:
 over Bun Suainme with weaving of rods,
 over Slīab Cua, over Cenn Febrat.
10. Behind their breasts—a cry without falsehood—
 came Fintan son of Bochna:
 till he reached, having lost his strength,
 Tul Tuinde over Loch Dergdeire.
11. After that came fair Cessair,
 to Cul Cessrach in Connachta:
 so that there she heard, after slumber,
 of the death of her father in her absence.
12. The woman utters a sharp scream
 after her husband, for the death of her father:
 there brake for her—it was a great sadness—
 her heart in her very middle.
13. Those are, for they are accurate,
 their death, their adventures:
 There was not more than a week
 from them till the Forty.

¹¹ do cuala F rochuala R² (roenal [sic] E) ro chualaidh B rochualaich M
¹² a F ar R² ¹³ fes VDM bfeis E Feis B ¹⁴eg FEDB ¹⁵athar F
 hegmais FB hegmuis D.

12. ¹iachtais R² iachtaidh B ²bean B ³athar F achar R² (-air V)
 gu halalamh B hathlam M ⁴des FM ⁵deg FEDB ⁶athar F hatar B
⁷co ro chnomuigh V co ro cnomuidh E go ro chnomuid D cor mebaid M
⁸om. R² ⁹ba ED ¹⁰muich VDB muidh E ¹¹cradi F eridhi V
 eridhe E eraidi B ¹²ina B ¹³medhon E meadon B.

13. ¹iad ER² ²sain V ³iar nuair fechta R² (feetha V fecta D
 fechda E) beachta B ⁴n-aidid F naidhedh R² (-dedh V -ded D) naigeadh B
 noiged M ⁵nimtechta VE nimdechta D nimtheachta B ⁶raibe
 (-bhe E) R² roibi B roibe M ⁷sechd- D seachtmair (mh B) R² ⁸ama F
 namba B ⁹uaidib VD uaidhib E uaidhib B nathu M ¹⁰comad VD
 comadh E cosna B cusin M ¹¹cetracha VE ceathracha (-tra- B) R².

XXV.

R¹ ¶ 171 (L 2 δ 41: F 5 β 30). R² ¶ 178 (V 3 γ 25: E 2 δ 13: D 5 δ 9: R 76 B γ 9 [*first line only*]). R³ ¶ 197 (B 13 α 15: M 272 δ 24).

1. ¹Cāin ²raind ³do ⁴raindsemar ⁵etrond,
⁶Missi is Bith is ⁷Ladra ⁸lond;
⁹ar ¹⁰sith is ¹¹ar ¹²eōill ¹³dorigned,
¹⁴imon ¹⁵eōicait ¹⁶n-ingen ¹⁷n-oll.
2. ¹Secht mnā ²dēc ³rucis im ⁴Chessair— 855
⁵Lot, is ⁶Luam, ⁷is ⁸Māil, is ⁹Marr,
¹⁰Froecar, ¹¹Femar, ¹²Faible, ¹³Foroll,
¹⁴Ciper, ¹⁵Torrian, Tamall, ¹⁶Tam,
¹⁷Abba, ¹⁸Alla, ¹⁹Raichne, ²⁰Sille:
²¹is ē ²²lin ²³bāi ²⁴sinne ²⁵and. 860
3. ¹A ²secht ³dēc ⁴ruc Bith ⁵re ⁶Bairrfind—
⁷Sella, ⁸Della, ⁹Duib, Addeōs,
¹⁰Fotra, Traige,¹⁰ ¹¹Nera, ¹²Buana,
¹³Tamall, ¹⁴Tanna, ¹⁵Nathra, ¹⁶Leos,
¹⁷Fodarg, ¹⁸Rodarg, ¹⁹Dos, Clos: ²⁰cluinte— 865
²¹rop iad ²²sin ār ²³muinte ²⁴beos.

1. ¹caoin E ²roinn yc E an roinn R roind R² ³ro LR
⁴randsammar L rindsamar F roinnsemar ER rainnsemar D rindsimar B
roindseamar M ⁵edraind FE etroind V etraind D etrainn R adraind B
cadroind M ⁶messe L misi FEM misse V mise D ⁷Ladru LR²
Ladhra B ⁸lonn FD ⁹iar B ¹⁰sīd LFD sīdh V sīd B
¹¹om. F tria R² (tre E) iar B ¹²cheill R² cell M ¹³doringne L
dorignid F dorignied D dorigneadh B ¹⁴immun V iman E ¹⁵eōicait V
coiceaid D iad B caeca M ¹⁶ingen LE ningin F ningiun D ningean B
¹⁷oll L.

2. ¹seacht R² ²deg FEB ³rucas F rucussa V -cusa D rugus EB
⁴Cessair FV Chesair E Ceassair B Cheasair M ⁵Loth B Lotis Luama M
⁶Luamna F Luamh E Luamhna B ⁷om. is FVR² ⁸Mil FR² Maen
(with γ for is following) V Maol E Mael D Milis mBarr M ⁹Barr L
Mar F ¹⁰Froeochair F Fraech is V Fr. (only) E Freachach D Froeochair
B Feochair M ¹¹Femair FVR² Femasair ED ¹²Faibli FEB
Failbe VD Failbi M ¹³Forall E ¹⁴Cipir R²M ¹⁵Torand F Toirriam

XXV.

1. A just division we shared between us,
myself and Bith and bold Ladra;
for peace and for reason was it done,
in the matter of the fifty magnificent maidens.
2. Seventeen women I took, including Cessair—
Lot, Luam, Mail, Mar,
Froecar, Femar, Faible, Foroll,
Ciper, Torrian, Tamall, Tam,
Abba, Alla, Raichne, Sille:
that is the tale which we were there.
3. Seventeen Bith took, with Bairrfhind—
Sella, Della, Duib, Addeos,
Fotra, Traige, Nera, Buana,
Tamall, Tanna, Nathra, Leos,
Fodarg, Rodarg, Dos, Clos: be it heard—
those were our people further.

V Tarriam ED Torond B Torann M ¹⁶Tamm VD ¹⁷Aha F Abla VD
Abhla E ¹⁸Ulla L Ealla V Ella M ¹⁹Ruene F Ruichne VD Raichni E
Ruigne B Ruene M ²⁰Silli F² ²¹hise VD ²²lion E ²³bi F
baoi E boi D ²⁴sine F sinde VR² ²⁵ann FD.

3. ¹om. a R² ²sé L seacht M ³ins. mna R²: deg B ⁴rug EB
(*dittographed E*) ⁵ri L fri R² le R² ⁶Bairind LED Baraind F
Bairind V Barrind B Barraind M ⁷Sealla EB Selba DM ⁸Dealla EB
⁹Dubados FM Dib adeos R² (dibi V dibh E) Duba Doss B ¹⁰⁻¹²torn
away L Foth Traicia F Fota Traice R² (Foda Traighe E Traige D) Fothar
Traigia BM ¹¹Nena R² Neara B ¹²Banna F Buanna ED Banda R²
¹³Tama FM Tuamma R² Tamra B ¹⁴Natra FV ¹⁵Leoss V
¹⁶Fodarc R² (dh E) Fogarg B Fodard M ¹⁷om. M: in other mss.
uniform with preceding name ¹⁸Doscloss V Doss closs B ¹⁹ins. ro L:
cluinte VE cluintear B ²⁰rob iat FB ba hiat R² (hiad E iat D)
robiad M ²¹om. L sein V ²²muinte V muintear B ²³bos
preceded by i scratched out F foss V.

4. ¹A sē dēc ²iarsin ³re ⁴Ladraind:
⁵Aba, ⁶Bona, ⁷Albor, ⁸Ail,
⁹Gothiam, ¹⁰German, ¹¹Aithne, ¹²Inde,
¹³Rodarg, ¹⁴Rinne, ¹⁵Iachor, Ain,
¹⁶Irrand, ¹⁷Espa, ¹⁸Sine, ¹⁹Samoll:
²⁰rop ē sin ²¹ār ²²comand cain.

870

4. ¹asse V ²iarsain L ³la V ⁴Ladrain F Ladhraind VB
 Ladraun E Ladraun D ⁵Alba L Albo FM Balba V Labhra E Labra D
 Balbo B ⁶Bonna R² Bana B ⁷om. L sic F Abloir VD Abhloir E
 Allbor M ⁸om. L ⁹Gothiam R³ ¹⁰Germoe VD Grimoe E
 Germar M ¹¹Aiche R² om. B ¹²Tine L Inge R² Inde B ¹³Roore R²

XXVI.

R² ¶ 174 (V 3 β 31: E 2 γ 28: R 76 B α 36: D 5 B 15).
 R³ ¶ 189 (B 12 γ 10: M 272 α 14).

1. ¹Cessair ²ingen ³Betha būain,
 dalta ⁴Sabaill ⁵meic ⁶Manūail,
 in ⁷chēt ⁸ben ⁹chalma ro chind,
¹⁰rogob ¹¹Banba ¹²ria ndilind.

875

1. ¹Cesair R Cesair R²: *glossed* i. Eri y M ²ingean B ³Beathadh

XXVII.

R³ ¶ 192 (B 12 γ 46).

Hi cuigeadh uathadh, gan eill,
 do ruacht Ceassair in Eirinn:
 i n-a secht dec, gan bron,
 ro ghabh i port Parrtholan.

880

XXVIII.

R³ ¶ 192 (B 12 γ 47: M 272 β 15).

Is and ¹ro gabsadar port
²oe ³Dūn na mBare in bandtrocht:
⁴i Cūil ⁵Ceasra ⁶i erichaib Cairn,
 hi cūicead ⁷dēc, ⁸dia Sathairn.

¹rogobsadar M ²ig B ³Dunnairce B ⁴hi B ⁵Cheasra M

XXIX.

R³ ¶ 196 (M 272 γ 28).

Ced aimscar in beathad bind,
 oda Adam eo dilind:
 se bliadna caecad, rad ngle,
 ar se chedaib ar mile

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4. Sixteen thereafter with Ladra:
 Alba, Bona, Albor, Ail,
 Gothiam, German, Aithne, Inde,
 Rodarg, Rinne, Iachor, Ain,
 Irrand, Espa, Sine, Samoll:
 that was our fair company.

Rogarg B Rogairg M ¹¹Ridi F Rinde B Rindi M ¹²Iuchair R²
 Iacor B ¹³Irrind FB Urrand R² (-ann D) Is Rind M ¹⁴Easpa R³
¹⁵Sindi F Sinni R² (-ne E) Sinda R³ ¹⁶Samall FR² Samall R²
¹⁷rob FR² ba hiat (hiad E iat D) sin R² ¹⁸in R² ¹⁹comand L
 comann EDM qmand E coman B.

XXVI.

1. Cessair daughter of enduring Bith,
 fosterling of Sabail son of Manual,
 the first valorous woman who set forth,
 who invaded Ireland before the Flood.

R³ (-thad M) ⁴Sabuill VDM ⁵mic D ⁶Manuail RR² ⁷ect VERB
 ehed M ⁸bean B ⁹calma VERB: ro cinn B ¹⁰rogab VEDR
 roghabh B ¹¹Banbha B ¹²ri B iar M: ndilinn R.

XXVII.

On the fifth unit, without advantage,
 Cessair arrived in Ireland:
 on seventeen, without sorrow,
 Partholon came to harbour.

XXVIII.

It is there that they came to harbour,
 the woman-crowd, at Dun na mBare.
 In the Nook of Cessair, in the lands of Carn,
 on the fifteenth, on Saturday.

⁶a erichaibh B i ericaib M ⁷deg B ⁸dia Sathairn B de Sathairn M.

XXIX.

The first age of the tuneful world,
 from Adam to the Flood:
 fifty-six years, a clear saying,
 added to six hundreds and a thousand.

NOTES ON SECTION III.

PROSE TEXTS.

First Redaction.

¶ 166 (= R² ¶ 172, R³ ¶ 186). This ¶, which appears in all three redactions, [with its sequel, which appears in R² (¶ 184)] is probably the only part of the original LG which is contained in LO in its present form. The compiler of LG had no concern with the aborigines, and for his purpose the bare list of pre-Milesian invasions here set forth was quite sufficient to identify the people whom the Milesians found on their arrival in Ireland. It is probable that originally Cessair was not included in the enumeration: the particle *ēm*, found in R²R³, is suggestive of a marginal gloss objecting to her exclusion. Against this is the fact that the number of the invasions is specified (seven in R¹R³, five in R²), and Cessair is needed in each case to fill up this number. But a subsequent adjustment of the numbers is not impossible, and is indeed indicated by the discrepancy in this respect between the redactions. The ¶ follows a tradition differing from that adopted by LO, for it treats the Fir Bolg invasion as consisting of three separate events, enumerated differently—thereby making a total of seven pre-Milesian “takings.” The same tradition of seven takings underlies poem XXXIII (*Sechtmad gabáil rodusgab*), but it has a different enumeration: see the poem and the notes thereon (vol. iii). In ∞ R² editorial interference has toned down the discrepancy, cutting out the Fir Domnann and the Gailioin, and changing the numeral *secht* to *cóic*. The only other differences in the three presentations of the text are glossarial interpolations, easily detected by comparison of the three versions, and sufficiently marked in the printed page. The editorial instincts of ∞ R² have led to interference with the dating of Partholon. Naturally the Milesian invasion was not originally included in this list of pre-Milesian captures, and it is absent from F’s version of R¹.¹

¹ But as it appears in L this omission may be accidental, and the interpolation may have been in *Q.

but it was inevitable that the usual myopic glossator should make haste to fill in what he imagined to be an omission. The difference between the glosses in R² (*Gáidil*) and R³ (*Meic Mílid*) show that they must come from different hands. Once more R³ testifies to the affinity of F*Q by following the variants of F as against L.

¶ 167 (= R³ ¶ 187). Here F*Q have a variant of the Cessair invasion, independent of the main tradition of PA, and professing to be extracted from the lost historical miscellany called *The Quire of Druim Snechta*, where it probably was an independent saga. It differs from the PA tradition in calling the heroine Banba, and in triplicating the number of the train of women, but in mentioning Ladra only of the male companions. It also dates her arrival 200 years before the Flood, assigns to the colony a stay of 40 years in Ireland, and brings them to an end by means of an epidemic.² This story is thus entirely independent of the Flood-saga, and therefore originally independent of the orthodox Cessair story, though each narrative has contaminated the other to such an extent that they have become almost identical. The division of the women seems to have been unknown to this story: and the Cynocephali introduced into the subsequent Partholon story have no place in the orthodox narrative, unless we are to equate them to the Fomoraig. Keating knows of the Banba story, and of its origin in the Quire of Druim Snechta; but he ignores Cynocephali.

The opening question of the ¶, which appears corruptly in both R¹ and R³, must be the original beginning of PA: for it is found in R² ¶ 174, which knows nothing of the Druim Snechta story of Banba, apart from an interpolation in ¶ 175 peculiar to V.

Ard Ladrann is usually identified with Ardamine, on the

² The *Book of Fenagh* contains a long poem which *inter alia* recapitulates the legendary history of Ireland (ed. Kelly and Hennessy, pp. 46–111). In a transcript of this compilation by Mícheál Ó Cléirigh, now in the Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels, there is a variant reading of the third quatrain which combines the plague with the forty-day story—reading *In lucht sin bat mairbh do támh* for the first line of the quatrain. The printed text has *In lucht sin huili ba marb*.

Wexford coast, but the terrestrial identification of dreamland sites is unprofitable.

¶ 168 (= R³ ¶ 188: another version R² ¶ 173). The story of the Three Fishers may have been in PA, but rejected by the compiler who incorporated PA with LO: and returned to the document by later glossators. R³ as usual follows R¹. R¹ and R² clearly take the story from different sources, and R¹ makes it plain that its source is *not* the *Drnim Sneachta* book from which the preceding paragraph has been borrowed by F*Q. The story is so drastically condensed that nearly all the interest is squeezed out of it. The three names Capa, Luasat, Laigne, are in the alliterative formula which betrays dioscure affinities (the prosthetic S in *Sluasat*, R³, is a mere corruption): the *p* in the first name arouses suspicion of a non-Celtic origin. *Tuad Inber*, the estuary of the Bann, is a strange place for the landing of travellers from Spain: if we had the whole story before us, we should probably find a record of long inland voyaging before the final catastrophe. Keating mentions the story (I. v. 2) but adds nothing of importance: he apparently took it from a copy of the shorter version in R².

¶ 169 (= R³ ¶ 189, 192: variant, R² ¶ 176). Just as ¶ 167 preserves the opening words of PA, so ¶ 169, (in L) preserves the opening words of LO: that they belong to the composite book (LO + PA) and not to the originally separate PA, is shown by the plural word *gabálaib*. It is remarkable how the plural of this word is avoided in the original text of LG; even in ¶ 166, where it would be appropriate, we have *na secht tūatha rogabsat*. It seems as though the compiler of LG did not recognize a legitimate "taking" other than that of the Milesians. The word *iarum* in these opening words of L's version shows that predecessors of Cessair were originally enumerated, and have been editorially excised. Such were the Banba and Capa settlements mentioned in previous paragraphs, the three daughters of Cain (Keating I. v. 1) and perhaps Adna son of Bith, who according to Keating (I. vi. 1) was an early post-diluvian; but whose parentage obviously connects him with Cessair, although Keating's authorities link him with Ninus son of Belus.

Presumably in the original PA the Cessair story followed these earlier and vaguer traditions. The heading of LO has been modified by F*Q in order to link on with their preceding interpolations. *Q, as set forth in R³, has few variants: it substitutes *iar tuistin talman* for *ar tūs*; by omission it exposes F's *mad iarsin . . . doluidsem sunn* as a gloss; while itself takes in Cessair's fosterfather Saball s. Manall (*sic*), borrowing him from R² ¶ 174. The short passage common to L, F, but lost from *Q by reason of the substitution of the long voyage-interpolation presently to be commented upon—(*is ē fochond . . . bes noco ria in dālin*) is probably the original statement in PA as to the cause of the voyage.

The voyage-story has been interpolated into F*Q: it is unknown to L. Apparently it is based upon the poem XXIII (*Cessair can as tūinic sí*). It is obviously a mere promenade through a dreamland, the landmarks of which may bear terrestrial names, but have no traceable relation to terrestrial geography.

The following table shows the slight variations in the versions:—

	R ¹ (¶ 169).	R ² ¶ 176.	R ³ ¶ 192.	Poem XXIII.
Leave Meroe	Tuesday, 15th	Tuesday	Tuesday, 15th	Tuesday
In (or along) } Egypt	10 years	7 years	10 or 7 years	10 years
On Caspian	20 days	18 days	20 days	20 days
Caspian to } Cimmerian	12 days	20 days	12 days	12 days
Asia Minor	1 day	1 day	1 day	1 day
To Alps	20 days	20 days	20 days	20 days
To Spain	9 days	18 days	9 days	9 days
To Ireland	9 days	9 days	9 days	9 days
Arrive Ireland	Saturday, ³ 5th	Saturday, 15th	Saturday, 5th	Saturday, 5th

³ *Cóic uathad*, which we have translated as literally as may be "a unitary five," is merely a verbal expression of the numeral "05," i.e. 5 not preceded by any number in the decimal place. It voices, in an interesting way, the notorious and fatal deficiency in early European systems of numerical notation—the absence of a special symbol for zero: and the exasperating clumsiness of the numerical system with which the Celtic family of languages is burdened.

Thus R¹ R² follow the poem the most closely: but in one important point R² agrees with it as against the others. R¹ R² give the travellers a journey of 12 days *on* the Caspian to the Cimmerian Sea, in addition to the previous 20 days on the Caspian. R² and the poem make 20 (or 12) days *from* the Caspian to the Cimmerian. Evidently the scholars of the R¹ tradition, followed blindly by R³, held by the ancient idea, perpetuated by Strabo, that the Caspian was an inlet of the northern ocean; those of R² (following the poem) were aware of its true nature as an inland lake, a fact known to Ptolemy⁴: recognising that a long *overland* trek would be necessary to pass from the one sea to the other. How and why they got back to Asia Minor in a single day it would be futile to enquire; and obviously the calendar data of the beginning and end of the voyage are entirely without meaning (but see below, p. 238).

As before, I leave the expression "Torrian Sea" untranslated: it may be the Mediterranean; or it may be the Tyrrhene Sea. Again, as before, it matters little which we choose!

¶ 170 (= R³ ¶ 193: same story in different words R² ¶ 177). The only details that call for notice in this ¶ are topographical.

Dūn na mBare in Corco Duibne. No place of this name is otherwise recorded in Corco Duibne as usually defined (Corkaguiney, the northern promontory of Kerry): but the Corco Duibne originally extended beyond that barony, and the expression *Irrus Deiscirt Corco Duibne* "Southern Headland of C.D." suggests that the name of the territory formerly extended over Iveragh as well. This is confirmed by the association with the Skelligs, as was seen long ago by O'Curry,⁵ who therefore sought to establish Dūn na mBare in Ballinskelligs Bay. The place-name does not appear to survive there: it is found near Bantry, which is too far to the South. Mr. H. Morris has argued very persuasively⁶ for fixing the site on the Sligo coast, north of the Rosses

⁴ See Tozer, *History of Ancient Geography* (index s.v. "Caspian"), for history of knowledge regarding this sea.

⁵ *Battle of Magh Leana*, p. 34-5, footnote.

⁶ *Journal Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, lxiii, 69 ff.

promontory; and he has shown that there is actually a complex of identifiable Cessair topography in that neighbourhood. But when shadowy figments like Cessair are involved, topographical traditions move about with the stories, and localize themselves in the neighbourhood of individual narrators: it would be very misleading to take the Fínd mac Cumhaill topography in Scotland as indicative of the locality of origin of the Fínd legend. None of the other references to Dūn na mBare in Hogan's *Onomasticon* have any light to throw upon the topographical problem: they are all either one version or another of the Cessair story, or else (as in *The Courtship of Momera*, ed. O'Curry, p. 159) are obviously derived from it. As all the versions of the story agree in placing the site in Corco Duibne, it is a question whether we are justified in looking for it elsewhere than in Kerry: but it may also be questioned whether we are justified in looking for it anywhere in the material world. But see the further suggestions given above, in the introduction to this section.

Stiab Betha is identified with "Slieve Beagh" at the junction of Counties Fermanagh, Tyrone, and Monaghan. A presumably bronze-age earn, on the top of the mountain, is referred to by the Four Masters (A.M. 2242) as the grave of Bith. The earn was still in existence in O'Donovan's time, though it has since been injured by quarrying. It may have had an influence in shaping the tradition.

Ard Ladraun we have already seen (¶ 167).

Fert Fintāin over Tul Tuinde. The latter name survives in Tountinna (Tipperary O.S. map 19) on the shore of Loch Derg. Fintān's grave, however, does not appear to be now extant in the locality. Other traditions as to the topography of this personage are recorded in O'Donovan's notes to the *Four Masters* i, p. 5.

Cūl Chesra, identified by earlier writers with one or other of the earns on Knockma, Co. Galway, has been identified more reasonably by Mr. Morris with a large mound overlooking the town of Boyle, called *Knockadoobrusna*. Here again, however, the topography of fairyland is hardly to be pinned down to telluric sites: the most that we can say is that the mythologies were localized by the story-tellers who narrated them, and that in some cases this artificial process

had a determining influence on local topographical nomenclature. A quatrain quoted by Mr. Morris in support of his thesis is an interpolation: see below, p. 246.

¶ 171. On the names of the women, see the notes on poem XXV, below, p. 246.

Second Reduction.

¶ 172. On this paragraph see the notes to ¶ 166. It comes from the original LG, but has been editorially harmonized with the tradition of LO, probably after that compilation had become part of the composite text.

¶ 173. See the notes to ¶ 168. It differs verbally from ¶ 168 to such an extent that it cannot come from the same source, though it narrates practically the same story. Note that the fishermen are named in a different order, evidently dictated by the appended poem. This authority, however, gives much fuller details about these personages, which the prose text in all its versions ignores.

¶ 174. This gives us (a) the title of the Cessair pericope, modified from the opening words of LO (as in R¹ ¶ 169, version of I); (b) the opening words of PA (R¹ ¶ 167, 169, first sentences of each, version of F); and (c) an interpolation from another source, naming Cessair's foster-parent. On this see the introduction to the present section. V's reading, *iar ndilinn* "after the Flood" is probably a mere mistake, but it might perhaps embody a different tradition as to the chronology of Cessair.

¶ 175-8. The PA story of Cessair's departure and voyage, but treated with great verbal freedom, although the influence of poem XXIII prevents serious modifications in the actual sequence of incidents. But the differences in detail are considerable: see the note on ¶ 169.

¶ 179. Here begins the document which in the introduction we have called C^b. It is parallel to C^a, the story which R² had from the first; and it has been inserted as a block of matter at an early stage of the history of this version, presumably because it added details not given by C^a.

Comparison between C^a and C^b indicates the following

differences:—(1) The foster Saball s. Manual is unknown: the reference to him must therefore be a late interpolation in C^a. (This does not negative the suggestion made above that Saball was from the beginning an intrinsic element in the tradition: in fact the most reasonable explanation for the interpolation is that the glossator considered him essential to the narrative, and thought that he ought to be mentioned. He knew who Saball was supposed to be: we do not.)

(2) The emphasis on the relationship of Cessair and her friends to Noah. It is interesting to see how this certainly artificial "fact" oscillates between emphasis and oblivion. In R¹ Noah suggests the voyage; in R² (C^a), beyond the bare mention of Noah in genealogical statements—which may here be interpolated—the patriarch does not appear at all. In C^b, however, the Noah connexion is brought into great prominence. The Flood is prophesied, and there is a laboured description of the rejection of the Cessair party's application for admission to the Ark. But Noah does not counsel their setting forth in an ark of their own: clearly he expects and desires them to drown.

(3) The subsequent council, and the adoption of an oracular "hand-god" (or baetyl), from whom the advice to take the journey comes. This is peculiar to C^b.

(4) The special mention of two women companions of Cessair, giving three chief women balancing the three men. This also is peculiar to C^b. One of these women is called Balba (= Banba), showing a reminiscence of the story in the *Quire of Druim Snechta*. The journey presumably followed the same lines in C^b as in C^a, as the redactor who took in C^b omitted it as superfluous.

(5) The party is driven to Ireland by a storm. This is apparently borrowed from the tale of the Spanish fishers. An important difference between C^a and C^b is that in the latter Cessair has only one ship (called an "ark"), whereas in the former she has three, two of which are lost with all hands at the landing.

(6) The emphasis laid on the division of the women is a special feature of C^b, and the subsequent events—the re-division after Ladra's death and the grotesque flight of Fintān—are peculiar to it. The latter looks like a popular "droll," which the scholastic compilers have condescended

to include, possibly for reasons already suggested (*ante*, p. 174).

The play of words in Noah's reply to Ladra (*ní long ladrand in long-sa*) will not escape notice.

A *lām-dia* was a portable object, possibly an elongated water-worn stone, more or less flattened, a rounded oval in shape, such as were found in a bronze-age burial-urn on Carrowkeel mountain, and also in New Grange when it was opened in 1699.⁷ Such objects, like the fetish known as *Cermad Cestach* at Clogher, appear to have been used (as here) for oracular purposes, but the method of their use is not known. The limitation of knowledge ascribed to the idol is interesting: it appears that the writer felt constrained to accord *some* supernatural presence to the object, but without any special enthusiasm.

Though the C^a account of the voyage is lost, there is a hint that it was identical with C^a, differing from the R¹R² version in making the sojourn in Egypt *seven* instead of ten years. For they set forth $7\frac{1}{2}$ years (*secht mbliadna ⁊ ráithi*) before the Flood. The seven years are spent in Egypt (or sailing along the coast thereof): the *ráithi*, or quarter year, is distributed over the rest of the voyage. This (see the table, p. 233, above) contains $18 + 20 + 1 + 20 + 18 + 9 = 86$ days, which is exactly three lunar months of 28-29 days each, a strong argument for the originality of *this* distribution of the time; a conclusion further corroborated by the symmetry of the numbers. (The calculator has, however, forgotten the 40 days, said to have been spent in Ireland before the Flood.)

Miledach, *Bun Suainme*, and *Comar na ttrī nuisce*, all denote the place of confluence of the Barrow, Nore, and Suir, and the territory around it. What mythological connexion there may be between the three rivers and the three heroes (or heroines) it is useless to try to guess: but such a place, liable at times to excess of waters, might very well be connected with a localized flood-legend. If *Dūn na mBarc* was

⁷ See *Proceedings*, Royal Irish Academy, xxix, § C, p. 334; and the illustration accompanying Molyneux's description of New Grange in his *Discourse concerning the Danish mounts, forts, and towers in Ireland* (Dublin, 1725), p. 203.

on the western coast, this meeting of the waters would have been an inconvenient place for the colonists to assemble; and there must be some reason, now forgotten, for their association with this special place. (See *ante*, p. 172.)

¶ 180. The writer is at the stage of cultural development which regards a name as an intrinsic and essential part of the thing named. "Bun Sūainme" was at the time the name of a certain place, although by hypothesis there were no people in the country to bestow the name upon it. Compare the story of the stars in vol. i, ¶ 27, which have their names even before the angels discover them.

¶ 181. Ladra's dissatisfaction, at getting only 16 women whereas his associates got 17 each, appears here for the first time. Note that in *secht mnā dēcc maille fris*, we must assign to *maille* an inclusive meaning, not merely associative ("17 women, of whom she was one").

¶ 183. Fintan's flight is conceived of as starting from the meeting of the three waters—the confluence of the Barrow and the Suir, for the Nore runs into the Barrow about 8 miles above that point—westward through the low-lying seaboard of Co. Waterford as far as Dungarvan Harbour, then, turning northward, crossing the Knockmealdown Mountains (*Slíab Cūa*) into Tipperary; then west by north, into Limerick as far as Kilfinnane (near which is *Cenn Pebrat*); then turning northward, striking the Shannon somewhere between Limerick and Killaloe, and following it upstream, left-hand to the river, to the goal at *Tul Tuinde* (on which see notes to ¶ 170 above).

¶ 184 is most probably the sequel to ¶ 172 in the original LG. It gives us the bare chronological details about the aborigines which are needful; and leads us back to the invasion of the Milesians, which was the special interest of that document. It adds one more item to the parallel that has already been drawn between the Milesian and the Hebrew history: for it makes the building of Solomon's Temple, which practically inaugurates the history of the Hebrew kings, contemporary with the inauguration of the Milesian kings.

Third Redaction.

¶186. The awkward *adfeadsam* is to be excised as an intrusive gloss upon *aisneidheam*. The other differences from the parallel texts have already been commented upon.

¶187. The Banba story, as we have already seen, was independent of Noah and the Flood. The discrepancy has puzzled the scribes of the R³ tradition; Banba and her friends were in the country 40 years, two centuries before the Flood, and, therefore, could have had nothing to do with it. They have accordingly made nonsense of the whole episode by interpolating some Biblical extracts about the Flood. The duration of the Flood, according to R³—40 years and 1 day, instead of 40 days and 1 year—is a mere scribal slip; but it does not improve matters.

The latter part of this ¶ (from *I cind* 300 *bliadan*) is the first fragment of the synchronistic tract isolated by Professor MacNeill.⁶

¶188. The Capa story, from *Q—with mere verbal and orthographical differences from the text of F¹. The gloss *acht chena ni hairmid* must have lost the word *Lebor* before *Gabala* already in √F*Q.

¶190. Here begins R³'s copy of C². It is taken over from R², but with numerous interpolations and variations. The most important of these are—

(1) A sentence making the Flood the penalty for Cain's murder of Abel.

(2), in M, a reference to the endogamy attributed to Noah's domestic *ménage*, otherwise known only from glosses in R² (¶11).

(3), in M, a gloss emphasising Fintan's fraternal relationship to Noah. In B he is Noah's nephew, as in R².

(4) The answer of Noah to Ladra has become corrupted. *Ni leam do comas* should be *Ni liom* [or, as in R², *nimtha*] *a chomas*. The *a* has become *do*; and we must now translate *comas* "control" [see Meyer, *Contribb.* s.v. *commas*]"—"I have no control of thee, am not thy keeper." In M, *Ni fillem do cumachtaib*, here provisionally translated, "We would not stoop to the Powers" [to petition for thy deliver-

⁶ *Proceedings R.I.A.*, xxviii, C, p. 123 ff.

ance] has apparently grown out of *Ni liom a cumas*, the *s* of the last word having been read as though *s̄* (= *acht*).

(5) Addition in M of a petition of Cessair on her own behalf, and an extension of Noah's punning remark about the "ship of thieves" to include the whole company, and not Ladra only.

¶192. The evolution of the sea Mara Hēn and of the island Meroen is a good illustration of what was said above, p. 175, about the instability of proper names.

¶193. The lacuna in both MSS. of R³, in the passage describing the death of Ladra, is hardly to be attributed to a sense of prudishness such as induced the translator of the parallel text in the *Book of Fenagh* to render *atbath do fhurail banaich* by "he died of female persecution"! M here inserts a note about a son of Bith named Bath, which professes to explain a current saying. It shows that there were other elements in the Cessair saga of which our compilers made no use. The *well* of Dūn na mBare does not appear elsewhere.

The rest of the extract from C² follows on to ¶196 with no point worthy of special notice.

¶197. On the names of the women, see the notes to poem XXV. The note at the end of the paragraph apparently expresses an annotator's scepticism regarding the other antediluvian colonists.

¶198. This is the first paragraph of one of several tracts in which Irish "history" is placed in a setting of world-chronology, based on the compilation of Eusebius, as it is preserved for us at second-hand in a Latin translation by Hieronymus, and also in an Armenian version⁹: the original Greek text survives in fragments only. The Irish version correctly reproduces the dates here, except that the reign of Semiramis is wrongly written .xlu.; it should be .xlii. For Zameus, the alternative name of Ninias, we should read *Zames*, as we find it in the relevant fragment of the Greek, preserved by Syncellus, and also in the Armenian translation.

⁹ I use Scaliger's edition (Leyden, 1606) for the Hieronymian version, and Aucher's edition (Venice, 1818) of the Armenian translation.

Hieronymus has *Zameis*. The complete text of this Irish tract will be found in the *Book of Lecan* (facs. fo. 186 d 46 ff.): it is a different document from Professor MacNeill's chronicle, for which see note to ¶ 187 above.

VERSE TEXTS.

XXI.

Anonymous poem, put into the mouth of the antediluvian Fintan. Metre: very faulty, but reckoned as *crō cummaisc etir rindaírd ocus lethrannaigeacht*. The formula is $6^2 + 5^1$, the short lines rhyming: but the long lines sometimes end in monosyllables, as in quatrains 3, 12, or in trisyllables, as in 4, 6. In the first stanza, the scansion of line 695 is obscure: *cíu-íar* must be treated as one syllable. Line 697 is short of a syllable, and is probably corrupt.

(2) 699. The false reading in R^2 is probably due to someone whose ear had been led astray by the imperfect line 697 preceding it, and who tried to bring this line into conformity with it.

(3) 703. Another imperfect line, lacking a syllable; and once again R^2 has modified line 705 to conform to it metrically, as well as to carry through the formula of the statement in the lines preceding and following [his mountain, (his height), her nook].

(4) 708. Though the name *Druing* appears several times in Irish toponymy, it is not otherwise recorded anywhere that could be described as being underneath *Tul Tuinde*. We must, therefore, treat the word as dative of *drong*.

(6) 715. This is the order of words in all the MSS., but for metrical reasons it should be emended to *Missi sund i nÉirind*, as in the following quatrain.

(8) 726. *Irrus thíar*, that is *Irrus Domnann* (Erris, Co. Mayo).

(10) 731. The prefixed *íarsin* in all the MSS. is impossible metrically: it has clearly crept in from the two preceding quatrains. Fintan's lack of sustenance until the arrival of the *Túatha Dē Danann* has no parallel in the prose texts: otherwise the poem adds nothing to our knowledge of the episode.

XXII.

Metre *debide scáille*, with the loose construction of *óglachas* in which the number of syllables in the rhyming words is not strictly regulated.

(2) 749. *dinn* must be translated *natural* stronghold here, if we are to make exigent claims on the poet's logic: for by hypothesis there had been no one to build artificial fortresses before the arrival of *Capa* and his friends.

(6) 766. *Lí-indber* is the mouth of the *Bann*. This couplet expresses compactly that, starting from that northern point, they explored all Ireland and so ultimately worked their way back again to Spain.

XXIII.

Metre *debide scáille*, of superior construction to the preceding poem. The only points to notice about it are that it makes *Meroe* an archipelago of islands (782): calls the vessel of *Cessair* an ark (785): and recognises the existence of land between the *Caspian* and the *Cimmerian* seas, though it does not explain how *Cessair* navigated her vessel over it.

This poem and the next are probably parts of the same composition; and they appear as one in K. K^1 (i.e., the first quatrain of the poem in K) = $XXIV^1$; K^2 = $XXIII^1$; K^3 = $XXIV^2$; K^4 is a remote variant of $XXIII^2$; K^{5-7} = $XXIII^{3-5}$; and the rest follows, corresponding with the remainder of $XXIV$ (interpolating a quatrain before the last).

(1) 779. K follows R^2 in reading *cíd díá*, and adds the needless gloss *cíd h im a ttanaicc sí, no cia la tainicc?* 780. *Fo lí* K, as in R^2 , glossed *ar a mbaoi deghne*. 781. *Sēn* for *scēl* is probably the true reading, being in K as well as R^2R^3 . K's gloss *lion luinge no lucht luingi, no bae sen garbh ar a ttangatar* seems to presuppose a word *sēn*, meaning "troop, company."

(2) 783. K's version of this quatrain is as follows—

Bai mar atberat baird:	fri toeibh cesh airir iomaird,
ocht tuath decc i mbaire, nirb	es muineind mara nhor-Caisp.
aiae:	

the first line glossed *mar aderit na heolaigh*, the third *nirb aithiseach no imdeargthach*; and *os muincind* glossed *os uachtar*. The last couplet is as in R².

(3) 788. K has a corrupt reading *ccuimm* for *trom*, glossed by guesswork *i ccuim no i fosgad Mara Cimerdha*. *Riacht* is a dissyllable, but some scribes have made it a monosyllable and inserted *in* to mend the metre. 790. K follows R² in reading *Siria*.

(4) 791. K's reading of this quatrain follows R².

(5) 797-8. K's reading is a modification of R²: *Satharn for coiced dece ghe* (i. glan no follus): *tanicc d'ascnam* (i. tanuig si do ceimniughadh) *criche*.

XXIV.

Metre: *debidé scáille*.

(1) 799. *don tūr tind*, glossed *don iarraidh tinnésnaigh* K. K's readings in this poem follow those of R² as a rule. 801. *na cucht cain: fo cucht cain* K, glossed *fo ghne caoin no tailknehmaigh*. It is not quite clear whether the "cucht" is referable to Cessair or to Ériu. 802. *codal-glain*, glossed *croicenn-gloin* K.

(2) 803. *Ass* in the sense of "out of," "forth," which it frequently has after verbs. 804. Here again Meroe is treated as an archipelago.

(3) 808. K, reading *fri recht*, glosses *fri dlighedh no fri riochtain co rogarcc*. 809. *grinn* is the reading of R¹ R², but the *granda* of R² gives better sense. K has *graindi*, and glosses *ro tiomsaigh nō ro tiomāin an gaoth iad i modh cruinn*, presumably meaning "in a roundabout way." 810. K fatuously glosses *ar imorchor* by *ar iomchar muiridhi no ar sechrān*: apparently analysing the word into *im-muir-choir*.

(5) 815. *Ladra* is described meaninglessly as "sufficient" merely to provide a rhyme for *mōr*. The exigencies of verse have in any case driven the poet to take refuge here in *ōglachas*! And in line 817, wanting an adjective of disapproval to rhyme with *Ladrān*, he is compelled to fall back on the overworked and here scarcely appropriate *gand*. K expresses his bewilderment thereat by glossing this word

ba gníom goirt, no tinn, no tiachair. 817. K substitutes *do forail banaigh* for *do dul chuca*, a reading not found in any of the pre-K versions.

(6) 821. *fri sāiri seng* appears to mean "with slender nobility": K, thinking of *fōaim* in connexion with *taesat*, and joining *sāiri seng* to *mnāib* (both being governed by the same preposition), gives the wild gloss *as iat ceidfir do luigh no do righne feis, re mnāib saora seanga i nErinn o thūs*. *Taesat fri mnāib* "they came with women" hence, foregathered, consorted with women.

(7) 823. *benn* is glossed by K *rug Bioth ar a roinn do na mnaibh*, which suggests a misunderstanding of the epithet. 825. It is straining language to describe "Slieve Beagh" as being in the N.E. of Ireland, nor does it stand above any "stately sea" (Loch Erne is rather too far away). Assuming the correctness of the identification, the geographical indications here must be dictated by metrical exigencies. 826. *thingradus* with a variety of spellings, is glossed i. *tanaic a dedhen-cheim* ("last step" with *gradus* in mind): "tigh" *deidhenach*, γ "rathus" *cion*, i. *a cion deidhenach basaigh teach*. The latter part of the gloss seems to hit the nail: *rathus* is a legal term (= liability), see Atkinson, *Glossary to Ancient Laws*. The last liability is, of course, death.

(8) 828. *co lín ngretha*, glossed *co n-iomat ngaire i. occa caoineadh*. This seems to be a correct rendering. *Lín* is maseuline, but here causes nasalization of the following initial.

(9) 831. K has *attai*, glossed *ro elaid*, for *dobuid*—a reading not found in the older MSS. 832. *fa sūan saim*, a cheville meaningless in this connexion, but presumably a sort of quasi-etymological anticipation of *Bun Súainme* in the following line. 833. *re snīm slat*. *Snīm* means (1) trouble, (2) spinning, wrenching, creaking; *slat* means a rod, branch, reed, or the like. The expression may be either descriptive of the site, as a place "of creaking of branches" or else a suggestion of the way in which Fintan crossed the waters of Bun Suainme "with [a raft of] weaving of rods." Such an operation would be familiar in Ireland: rods were woven to form the wattle structure of the walls of huts, and also to

provide the footings of crannog-structures. K, who glosses the passage *re sníomh do dul ina fearrdha*, seems to have understood it in a grotesque sense best forgotten.

(10) 835. Here *iar* is used in the less usual spatial sense "behind." *Airthir* means "front part"; as applied to mountains, the brow, breast, or bluff. *Núall*, usually "outcry, noise," is here glossed *radh* in K.

(11) 841. *iar ffes* is understood by K to mean "dwelling, or adultery, or feasting." 842. *na hēcmaís* may mean "in her absence" or "absent from her." There is no reason to prefer either rendering to the other.

(12) 843. *Achar* is glossed by K *do rinni sí éccaoini no éigem gēr no linn no luinn no tren*.

(12A). The following quatrain, not found in any ancient MS., is here interpolated by K—

<i>Athnaicset na mna ar dile:</i>	<i>sethnuch soer na hinghine;</i>
<i>Isin carn os Búill messaigh:</i>	<i>cor lil a hainm o Aird-Ceasar.</i>

glossing *athnaicset* by *adhnaicset*, *sethnuch*, etc., by *corp onorach na hinghine*, *no corp uasal*, and *messaigh* by *iasccach no bradanach*.

847. K, following the reading of R², glosses *fechta* by *turusa*.

(13) 848. The plural *aideda* (oidedha) appears in K, but not in any other of the older MSS. But perhaps the *a* was lost early before the possessive pronoun following.

XXV.

Metre, a loose form of *Sétrad mór*, in which the internal rhyme is neglected. As in XXI, the "poet" speaks in the name of Fintan.

The composition is a list of names, compiled for mnemonic purposes. The frequent alliterations and assonances (Sella-Della, Fodarg-Rodarg) show that the list in its present form is artificial; and the numerous variants prove that it is very corrupt. Moreover, some of the words seem to have been adapted from sentences which were embedded in some previous form of the list (e.g., *Duib Addeos* in the "Bith" group, which K quite naturally glosses *inneosat*, but which

must be treated as two names, because otherwise it would be impossible to fill up the number of seventeen). Compare *Asdia Cuimniu Gudsain* in some versions of the list of languages, *ante*, p. 150. *Rodarg Rinne Iachor Ain Irrand Espa* looks like another such sentence: with a little adjustment it could be made to mean "Rodarg who made a noble boundary in a part of Spa[in]." Further, the numbers of 17+17+16 have been made up by repetitions. *Tamall*, *Tam* in the "Fintan" group corresponds to *Tamall*, *Tanna* (which is so printed here, after L, but in other versions appears as *Tamall*, *Tama*) in the "Bith" group; *Rodarg* appears both in the "Bith" and in the "Ladra" group; and *Aba* at the head of the *Ladra* group (which certainly ought to be *Balba* or *Banba*) corresponds to *Aba* or *Abla* in the *Fintan* group.

This being so, and no earlier form of the list being available, it would be futile to endeavour to conjecture—for we could do little more—the shape in which it was first drawn up. But in its original form it was probably as old as the rest of the story, and was an essential part of it. For, as has already been hinted in the Introduction, we must assume that originally Cessair and her companions survived the Flood and re-peopled the earth. The extension of the Flood to Ireland, and its drowning of the company, is artificial, to bring the story into accordance with the postulated teaching of Holy Writ. The fifty women were undoubtedly meant to be the mothers of the post-diluvian human communities: one line in the "Ladra" list shows this quite clearly—

"Gothiam, German, Aithne, Inde,"

where it is easy to see names eponymous of Gothia, Germania, Athenae, and India. Elsewhere we have Cipir (= Cyprus), Torrian (= Tyrrhenia), Traige (= Thracia), and possibly some others which corruption has rendered less obvious. And it may be further suggested that the partition among the three men is late and artificial.⁹ The original story knew

⁹ But it shows a parallelism, which may mean anything or nothing, with the distribution of the post-diluvian nations among the three sons of Noah.

of only one man (Adna "the ancient," afterwards Ladra) with one wife, daughter of Bith ("cosmos"), and a number (not necessarily fifty) of subordinate women. Adna being son of Bith, he is consequently brother of Cessair (a relationship attributed to Ladra by an interpolator in ¶ 196). We seem here to be on the track of a myth of a divine brother-sister union, comparable with the connexion of Zeus and Hera, or with those of the cosmogonic ennead in Egyptian mythology. The married pair in time became a triad, for certainly Cessair = Bairrind = Banba [= F'otla = Ériu]. After the Flood the man united with all the women—there is possibly a hint of this in Ladra's "excess of women," although in the end he actually had the smallest number—and became the progenitor of the peoples of the world. Further than this we cannot go, but there is a considerable potential interest in the list, as an early compendium of geographical knowledge; though its manifold corruptions have deprived it of most of its kinetic value.

XXVI.

Metre: *Debide scáilte*. This quatrain also appears in Keating (I. v. 1) with slight verbal differences, the most important of which is the substitution of *Nionuail* for *Manuail*.

XXVII.

This quatrain in the form here given is metrically corrupt, but is meant to be *debide scáilte*. A better version is given in M in the Partholón section (poem no. XXXVI).

XXVIII.

Metre: *debide scáilte*. Carn Cessra is sometimes used, as more or less synonymous, for Cúl Cessrach, see Hogan, *Onomasticon*, s.v. Carn Cesra. Carn is such a common place-name in Ireland that it gives no real help in the discussion of the topography of the story. The quatrain also in Keating, I. v. 3.

XXIX.

Metre: *debide scáilte*.

LIBER PRAECURSORUM.

The section now before the reader is the second of the two originally independent narratives which (as we have seen in the Introduction) break into the middle of the history of the Milesian Invasion. In the *Historia Brittonum* of Nennius this document is thus summarized: I translate from the Harleian text, as printed by Faral:¹

"Now first came *Partholomus* with 1000 persons, both men and women, and they increased till they were 4000: and an epidemic came upon them, and in one week they all died, and not even one remained of them.

"Secondly *Nimeth*, a certain son of Agnomen, came to Ireland, who is said to have sailed for a year and a half upon the sea: afterwards he took harbour in Ireland, having suffered shipwreck, and he remained there for many years: and once more he put to sea with his followers and returned to Spain.

"Afterwards there came three sons of a Spanish soldier (*militis Hispaniae*) having thirty ships and thirty wedded couples in each ship, and they remained there for a space of one year. Afterwards they behold a tower of glass in mid-sea, and they were beholding men on the tower, and were seeking to speak with them, but these would never answer: so in one year they set out to assault the tower with all their ships and with all their women, except for one ship which suffered wreck, and in which were thirty men and as many women. The other ships sailed to capture the tower: and when they had all alighted upon the shore which surrounded the tower, the sea came upon them and they were drowned; not one of them escaped. Of the crew of the ship which was abandoned by reason of the wreck, all Ireland was filled unto this day. Afterwards people came, little by little, from regions of Spain, and occupied many territories.

¹ *La légende arthurienne*, iii, p. 11.

"Last of all came Damhoctor (into Britain) [and dwelt there until this day with his whole progeny]. Istoreth son of Istornus with his followers held Dalrieta; Buile and his followers held *Eubonia Insula* [Isle of Man] and other islands around; while the sons of Liethan found possession in the region of the Demeti and in other regions, that is Guir Cetgueli, till they were driven by Cunedda and by his sons from out of all the regions of Britain."

Nennius then proceeds to narrate a much perverted version of the adventures of Nel and his successors in Egypt, nearly, though not quite, as corrupt as that prefixed by Fordun to the *Scottichronicon*. With this we need not trouble ourselves. The foregoing extract shows that *Liber Praecursorum*, by the time of Nennius, was taking shape much as we have it; though Nennius evidently quotes some of it from memory, and has confused certain of the details. Partholon and Nemed are clear, and the departure of the Nemedians from Ireland is also clear. The next invasion of Nennius obviously shows confusion with that of the Milesians (*militis Hispaniae* = Mil of Spain); it must, however, correspond to the FirBolg. The incident of the Tower of Glass is a mixture of the two doublet stories, of the Tower of Gold and the Tower of Conaing, which appear in the Nemed section.

The text relating to "Damhoctor" reads as follows:—*Nouissime uenit Damhoctor et ibi habitauit cum omni genere suo usque hodie in Britanniam*. The first three words form the only genuine part of this sentence. Some one added *in Britanniam* (it should have been *in Hiberniam*): and then another scribe interlined *et ibi . . . hodie*, which has now broken most awkwardly into the text. The tale of dispersion with which this paragraph closes can be no more than a bad memory of the story of the scattering of the FirBolg into various islands.

"Damhoctor," *damh ochtair*, which Nennius has taken for a personal name, means "a troop of eight persons." We cannot determine which of the series of Invasions is intended; for it is suggestive that this numerical grouping persists throughout them all. The expression is applied to the people of Partholon in the *Dindsenchus* poem on Inber in Buada

(Gwynn, M.D., iii, 418). In ¶ 248 we find *Nemed-ochtair*; and other examples will meet us from time to time. Remembering that these tales are theological rather than historical, we seem here to be on the track of a primary group of eight deities, comparable with the central ennead of Egypt or the *di consentes* of Rome.

The story of the Precursors was in a more fluid condition than the alleged history of the Milesians. This is a natural result—and incidentally a demonstration—of the varied origin of the two documents. We have seen, in the Introduction to vol. I, that the story of the Milesians is from the first an artificial product, primarily the work of an individual writer, and anchored to the Israelite history upon which it is founded. The story of the Precursors is more of the nature of genuine folklore, no doubt artificially worked over, but still preserving some germs of a real, though unhistorical, tradition. Fortunately it never received a final literary form: the two recensions, R¹ and R², are almost as different as they well can be, within the necessary limitations imposed by telling the same story. They are here far more diverse than in the "Milesian" portion of LG, or even in the section which deals with the Antediluvians. This divergence, it is unnecessary to point out, makes them all the more valuable.

As will be more clearly shown in the analyses prefixed to the successive sections, *Liber Praecursorum* is capable of further analysis, with at least two component and parallel constituents. The Partholon-Nemed tales form a single group, corresponding to the FirBolg-Tuatha De Danann tales; the pairs are doublets of one another, although redactional interference has obscured their mutual relations.

The Partholon and Nemed sections seem to have been absent from *Q. It is possible that it never contained them: but on the whole it is most likely that the neglect of *Q by ∞ R³ in these sections is due to a further mutilation of that fundamental manuscript, which compelled him to rely exclusively on R² in this part of his work. The loss of the first folio of *Q would leave its conjunctive loose, and under a grave risk of being lost also: it is more than probable that this further calamity actually occurred before ∞ R³ began his operations. Calculation, based on the data collected in

Vol. I, pp. 10-13, suggests that in a gathering of three diplomas (six leaves) at the beginning of *Q the matter would be so distributed that a large part of the end of Partholon and the beginning of Nemed would have been contained on the sixth folio, which would be the conjunctive of the lost opening leaf. This gives a further hint towards the reconstruction of *Q.

The "lowest common measure" of the two parallel stories will to some extent put us in possession of the genuine folklore underlying the artificial form in which the documents have, unfortunately, been delivered to us. It must be understood quite clearly that there is not a single element of genuine historical detail, in the strict sense of the word, anywhere in the whole compilation. After many efforts, I find myself forced to the conclusion that it is altogether chimerical to attempt to draw any correlation between the successive waves of historical immigration, to which Archaeology and Ethnology introduce us, and the wild tales contained in this book. These latter are partly mythological, partly ritual in their origin; and it should be obvious that this gives them an enormous value, which they would not possess if they were merely dull narratives of pointless slaughter and silliness such as, on the surface, they appear to be.

SECTION IV.

PARTHOLON.

Introduction.

The origin of this, the first section of *Liber Praecursorum*, has been a matter of frequent discussion on account of the remarkable name borne by the leader of the expedition. The initial P shows that the name is not Goidelic; some critics have sought an aboriginal, pre-Goidelic origin for the name and for the associated legends, while others favour a late (Christian) origin. The name is actually used in Irish Christian literature to represent the ecclesiastical *Bartholomeus*: and whether this is an original equivalent or a mere adaptation of an existing vocable is the question which is the essential kernel of the dispute.

The articles of Van Hamel (*Revue Celtique*, I, 217) and Thurneysen (*Z.C.P.*, xx, 375) summarize all the available literature possessing any value; and although in details of interpretation they take opposite views, these articles collectively produce the impression that what we have is a drastically artificial elaboration, by scholastic pedants, of primary folk-traditions.

At the end of all the discussion, however, the name of Partholon still remains unexplained; unsuccessful efforts by Hieronymus and Isidore to find the etymology of the name of the apostle Bartholomew have in one way or another influenced the treatment of the saga in the hands of the native historians. By this route, perhaps, if we adopt a suggestion of Thurneysen, the hero has become "son of Sera" (= "the Syrian")² and is thus linked to the Milesian pedigree.

² But see *ante*, p. 129.

Thurneysen considers the *Dindsenchus* element to be so prominent in this narrative as to be primary: the various personages after whom lakes and mountains are named having been invented to explain those names, and not *vice versa*. Undoubtedly this aspect of the subject is of great importance, and must not be lost sight of; in any case, actual narrative, in this story, is evidently reduced to its lowest terms. But as we shall presently see, there are other elements in the complex which have an equal claim to consideration. Besides the *Dindsenchus* material, Eusebius has supplied the synchronistic chronology, and Orosius the "Inber Seene" with which he has pestered Irish historical tradition. These are enough to show that we must make allowances for pseudo-learned artificial manipulation.

We shall be in a better position to consider the significance of this narrative after we have analysed its details.

First Redaction.

Partholon's parentage, date of arrival, synchronism with Abraham (§ 199). He comes with three sons, Laiglinne, Slanga, Rudraige, who are eponymous of certain geographical features (§ 200), as is also an unexplained Fea, one of his company, the first to die in the country (§ 201). The settlers are attacked by mysterious beings called Fomoraig, who are defeated (§ 202). Seven lakes burst forth (§ 203) and four plains are cleared (§ 204); and then Partholon and his following, who have by now amounted to 9,000 persons, all die of a plague. His nephew Tuan is the only survivor; it has been found necessary to invent him in order to explain the preservation of a story about an annihilated community (§ 205). Here, probably, ∞ R¹ ended: but a paragraph has been added giving a totally different account of Partholon's family (§ 206), and another, in which Partholon appears as a "culture-hero," the originator, in Ireland, of certain details of civilization (§ 207).

Second and Third Redactions.

In this and the following section these two redactions can be taken together. R³ is here an interpolated R² text, doubtless because, as we have seen, *Q failed ∞ R³, being mutilated at this place. In this section:—

§ 208 corresponds to § 199 in R¹, but is greatly expanded, and in detail has nothing in common with it except some verbal coincidences, possibly accidental.

§ 209: a similarly expanded account of Partholon's genealogy, his origin in Sicily (changed to "Micil" by a confusion of Σ and Μ in some Greek geographical glossary),² and the details of the voyage to Ireland.

§ 210 corresponds to § 200 in R¹, but is again verbally independent of it; the names of the wives are added; some additional names are interpolated in R³.

§ 211 explains Partholon's exile as due to an act of parrieide, and the final plague as a penalty for that crime. This paragraph reads like the end of an independent narrative: its material is quite foreign to R¹.

§ 212 (R² only) corresponds to § 207 (R¹), but is quite independent of it both in matter and in manner. The same may be said of § 213 (here also in R² only) which in a like unconformable manner corresponds to R¹, § 202.

§ 214 enumerates the four plains of § 204 (R¹) but in a different order, and with extensive orthographical variations in the names.

§ 215 tells of Fea (R¹ § 201) again with extensive

² A synchronistic tract in the *Book of Lecan*, which is quoted at § 230 (on which see the notes), tells us that Partholon—as well as all the subsequent invaders of Ireland—came from "Sceiainia" in "Sceithia Clochaid" (Scythia Petraea).

additions, and with no more than accidental verbal coincidences.

¶ 216 has a little more in common with R¹ than its doublet ¶ 213, but is still independent of it. ¶ 217-8 form a sequel to it found only in R³ (¶ 217 in M only). ¶ 218 is the same as ¶ 213 in R³.

¶ 219 enumerates the lake-bursts of R¹ ¶ 203, again in a different order and with greatly expanded details.

¶ 220 gives the death of Partholon (¶ 205 R¹) but again with a complete difference of matter and of manner. The story is repeated in ¶ 221—the third repetition of the narrative in this composite recension!

¶ 222 tells the full story of Tuan (of whom we had only a bare mention in R¹ [¶ 205], which may possibly be an interpolation).

¶ 223 is identical with ¶ 206: both versions have borrowed this irrelevance from some common source.

¶ 224-5, an interpolation in R³, with an additional short paragraph (226) in B, greatly expanding the previous lists of Partholon's companions. M then adds the story of Partholon and Delgnat, told in K but not elsewhere in any ancient version of the text; and gives one more version of the Tuan story. The text ends with the first long instalment of the ancient synchronistic chronicle, to which Professor MacNeill first called attention.⁴

From the above analysis it is clear that R¹ and R²R³ follow entirely different versions of the tale: even in the order of the paragraphs the two texts have little in common. It is also clear that the tale was extant in other forms as well, some of which were laid under contribution, especially by the school of R³: with the effect of giving that version a formlessness reminiscent of *primaeva* Chaos! The foregoing facts may be summarized thus in tabular form:—

⁴ *Proceedings, Royal Irish Academy*, xxviii, C, p. 123.

<i>Incidents</i>	<i>R¹</i>	<i>R²R³</i>
P.'s parentage, date of arrival, synchronism with Abraham, companions	199	208-9, 224-6
P.'s three sons	200	210
P.'s parricide	—	211
Fea	201	215
Fomorraig	202	218 (R ²) 216-8
Lakes	203	219
Plains	204	214
Plague	205	211, 220-1
Tuan	205	222, 236 (M)
P. = Mil	206	223
P. = Culture Hero	207	212 (R ²)
Delgnat	—	232-5 (M)
Synchronisms	—	227-31

Throughout R²R³ give much fuller details than R¹.

Reviewing these, the first point we notice is that the Cessair and Partholon stories must have developed independently of one another, and that the Cessair tale cannot have been originally a part of *Liber Praecursorum*. If it had been, Cessair's Fintan would have been available to carry on the record, and the invention of a second immortal, Tuan, would have been superfluous.⁵ In connexion with such stories as this of Tuan, it may be worth while recalling the legends of the exploits of certain Indian fakirs. In Stoll, *Suggestion und Hypnotismus*, p. 76 ff., we read of such a person who simulated death and was buried for forty days, after which he revived: and at pp. 82-3 there is a tale of another, found buried and resurrected in the same way, "who told many tales out of the ancient life."

In the second place, the Partholon story is *not* independent of the tale of the Fir Bolg. Two of Partholon's sons, Rudraige

⁵ In ¶ 236 there is a suggestion of an identification of these two personages, but this must be due to a harmonistic redactor. The identification is also adumbrated in ¶ 205, where a (probably interpolated) sentence makes Tuan narrate, at the end of his career, the invasions, *including that of Cessair*. Nennius apparently had no knowledge of Tuan, or disbelieved in him.

and Slanga, reappear as leaders of the FirBolg. On the other hand, the duality Gann and Sengann, who appear in the Nemed story as Fomorian enemies, along with a third member of the group, Genann, are associated with Rudraige and Slanga as FirBolg leaders. As we shall see later, the line between the FirBolg and the Fomorians is not clearly drawn. The former are the children of Dela son of Lot: More mac Deled (the difference of declension must be acknowledged, but it does not necessarily present an insuperable difficulty in the way of an ultimate identification) fights with the Fomorians against the Nemedians, and the name of Lot is prominent among the Fomorian opponents of Partholon.

The character of the Fomorian invasion is the crucial problem in estimating the nature of the Partholonian episode. Who were these beings, and what is the meaning of their hostility to the successive occupations of Ireland (with the significant exception of the FirBolg)?

First as to their origin: of this there are two versions current.

(a) They were indigenous; apparently local beings, demoniacal or quasi-human, who resented the arrival of foreigners (§ 202 = § 216).

(b) They were of foreign origin; they came from a land so far (§ 213) that their voyage to Ireland lasted 200 years, during which they had nothing to eat but sea-produce (birds and fish).

Their place of origin is called *Sliab Emor* (*Amor* in Dindsenchus, *Ughmōir* corruptly in Keating). This cannot be anywhere within Ireland: there is nothing to commend the suggestion (in Hogan's *Onomasticon*) that it was somewhere near Loch Da Caech, based on a Dindsenchus poem (MD, iii, 184) which the editor of the *Onomasticon* has misunderstood. The whole point of the story there told (which is unknown to the LG canon) is that the invaders came, to the lake named, from somewhere else. (In another respect the poem is at variance with the LG tradition, in that it makes the invaders attack the Milesians, not the Partholonians). If it be necessary to seek any terrestrial identification for *Sliab Emor* (as it is envisaged by the Christian historians who have systematized these tales) we

might perhaps suggest Mount Hermon; the association of that mountain, in apocryphal literature, with the Biblical Antediluvians and with the fallen angels, might indicate it as a suitable place from which to derive the uncanny Fomorians.

According as these people are or are not indigenous, their arrival is not or is spoken of as an "invasion." This is specially the case in § 213, 218, where it is called *Sechtgabāil* "seven-taking." We are not to understand "Seventh Taking," in spite of the interpolation § 218 in R³;⁶ in fact the Fomorian invasion cannot by any method of calculation be numbered as the seventh, unless we are to suppose that it was originally an invasion *after the Milesians*, and that it was transferred subsequently to the place where we now have it. In numerical order it would be the third taking, or, if the shadowy Antediluvian tales are all counted in, the sixth.⁷ It may possibly be that the Scandinavian raids have coloured the traditions, and that this has led to an uncertainty as to the exact chronological sequence of the story. But beyond doubt we are not occupied *primarily* with a contest between human combatants, although the historians have laboured to tie the event down in time and in place. The date of the battle is (a) in the third year of Partholon's occupation (§ 202, 216) or (b) unspecified (§ 213). Keating has misunderstood the story, and has supposed that the Fomorians arrived 200 years before Partholon, the diet of fish and fowl being consumed in Ireland.

The invaders are described as having single arms and single legs (§ 206, 216) to which R² in § 216 adds single eyes. These deformities do not appear in § 213, 217, but that may be because they had already been specified, and did not need to be repeated.

This is enough to show that we have to do with non-human personages. Supernatural beings are often imagined as being

⁶ Or of the enumeration of seven conquests made in § 166, by counting the three sub-divisions of the FirBolg separately.

⁷ Nor can the expression mean "an invasion by seven persons" as that conception would not be expressed in any such way, and even if it were, such an interpretation would not greatly help us. We must be content with admitting that we do not know what *secht-gabāil* means.

in some way defective:⁸ the demonic Ghormuhas, who enter into the folklore of the aboriginal Santals of Chhota Nagpur, have a close analogy to the Fomoraig.⁹ Persons casting spells are sometimes represented as putting themselves, so far as possible, into the same state—standing on one foot, gesticulating with one hand, closing one eye, and speaking a formula in one breath¹⁰ (for examples see R.C., xii, 98, xxi, 156, xxii, 581; also the note, *ib.* xxi, p. 395: see also O'Davoren's *Glossary*, ed. Stokes in *Archiv für Celt. Lex.*, ii, s.v., *corrquinecht*, and references there.)

Their leader is said to be one Cieul (the name is variously spelt), on whose parentage our authorities disagree profoundly, and to whose name an adjective is appended which denotes some peculiarity in his leg or his gait. He has a mother called Lot the Active.

These names reappear suggestively elsewhere. As we have seen above, Lot, turned masculine, is the father of Dela, who is father of the FirBolg leaders. Cieul, turned feminine, appears in the story of Da Derga's Hostel as the wife of a certain Fer Caille. Van Hamel and Thurneysen have both called attention to this fact.

⁸ See for example J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Scottish Highlands*, p. 15. Compare also the magical pig without ears or tail in the story of Diarmait and Gráinne (Preservation Society's edition, part ii, p. 42)—a story which, though extant only in a modern form, possesses many archaic features.

⁹ C. H. Burgess, *Folklore of the Santal Parganas* (London, 1909), p. 132. In the journal called *Discovery*, vol. xvii (1936), p. 185, there is an interesting paper by Capt. Wm. Hichens, entitled "Demon dances in E. Africa." The inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Mombasa and Zanzibar live in a life-long terror of many kinds of demons, and a hysterical "possession" by these beings is a frequent phenomenon. Among these demons there is a group of one-armed, one-legged and one-eyed spirits called *milhoi*, who are "of stealthy habits and great malevolence." The whole article, which includes details of the dances by which these evil influences are counteracted, is of extreme interest and suggestiveness: I must express by acknowledgments to Dr. F. H. Maberley for bringing it to my notice.

¹⁰ The games of children sometimes reproduce the serious pursuits of their elders of former generations, so it may be just worth while to remark in passing that I have seen, in Donegal, children amusing themselves by challenging one of their companions to repeat a rhyme or a jingle a certain number of times without drawing breath.

Fer Caille is there described in these terms:¹¹ a man with black cropped hair such that if a sack of crab-apples were poured on his head, they would all become transfixed thereon, so that not one would fall to the ground: with a single arm, a single eye, a single leg. If his snout were hooked across the branch of a tree it would stay there. Each of his shins [the author has for the moment forgotten that he had only one!] was as long and as thick as a yoke, his buttocks as big as a cheese. He had an iron forked pole in his hand, and a black-bristled singed pig on his back, perpetually squealing. His wife Ciehnil (as the name is there spelt) was not any more prepossessing: she had a big mouth, and was great, black, doleful, and ugly; her snout also would hang on a branch, and she had an under-lip which hung down to her knee. These people meet king Conaire when on his way to the Hostel of Da Derga, and, fatally in opposition to a *tabu* laid on the king, they subsequently occupy an *inda* or cubicle in the Hostel, where they are seen and are once more described by the spy of the raiders as they come to attack the building.

With the description of Ciehnil we may compare the details reported in Poem no. XXXIII, quatrain 3, of Lot, who, as we learn there, had "blubber lips in her breasts, and four eyes in her back." The actual wording of this unpleasant description is borrowed from another source, as is shown in the notes on the passage: but the borrowing would hardly have taken place if it had not appeared to be appropriate. It is suggestive that "Lot, Luam" occurs in the enumeration of Cessair's women; see ¶ 197 ante. Just as the single foot, hand, and eye help to identify Fer Caille with the Fomorian leaders, these details in the bisexual Lot help us to identify this being with the bisexual Cieul.

I have no scientific knowledge of Teratology, so can only hope that I am right in supposing that these horrible monstrosities transcend the limits of physical possibility, and that as descriptions of human beings they are preposterous, not to say abominable. But a very slight experience of ethnological museums is enough to show that they would be nothing out of the way among the idols which Oceania, Egypt, India, and other centres contribute to such collections; and I take it that these descriptions are, in fact, actual records

¹¹ R.C., xxii, p. 41.

of certain grotesque carved idols. With this clue in hand we obtain immediately a new light on the Hostelry of Da Derga. It was essentially no hostelry; indeed no one in his senses would at any time of the world's history have established a hostelry with a river flowing *through* it, especially a river so liable to spates as the Dodder. But such a place is not at all improbable for the establishment of a worship-centre; we may compare *Tech Mairisen* at Tara, situated above the spring called Nemnach, and undoubtedly a sacred building of some kind. Such a building, on an elaborate scale, I take the House of Da Derga to have been. It was a sort of pantheon: its numerous "cubicles" were shrines, each with its idol; and the quaint creatures seen and described by the spy in the service of the raiders were the images which the shrines contained.

We may compare the *patriae portenta ipsa diabolica, pene numero uincentia Aegyptiaca, lineamentis deformibus uel toruis uultibus* which were still mouldering in British or Romano-British pagan sanctuaries when Gildas wrote his *Liber Querulus*. Indeed, if the interminable description of Da Derga's Hostel and of its contents, which this narrative contains, is not to be interpreted in some such way, it becomes a mere dreary piece of silliness such as might be written by a rather foolish schoolboy with a still raw and uncultured sense of humour. So interpreted, on the other hand, it immediately assumes an importance for the history of European culture second only to that possessed by the painted "chambers of imagery" in the Palaeolithic caves.

No doubt the description has been written in an unsympathetic spirit. The inmates of the shrines, who are represented as spending their time in a variety of unmeaning tricks of jugglery and the like, are made absurd with evident intention. The author of the Da Derga story, in the form in which we have it, had no sympathy with the gods of his Pagan ancestors, and deliberately set himself to ridicule them. This to some extent detracts from the anthropological value of his record, while investing it with a certain historical value; but at least we can say for him what cannot be said for his colleague who, from the same standpoint, re-wrote the story of *The Second Battle of Moytura*; that he does not seriously transgress the limits of good taste. The latter

person mocked *In Dagda*, "the good god" of former times, with a ribaldry which an editor, not usually troubled with unscientific squeamishness, decided to be unprintable.¹²

It is quite reasonable to maintain that the person, or rather the object, which bore the name *Fer Caille*, "man of the wood," was a famous fetish, originally discovered in some wood or sacred grove; a chance freak of tree-growth, which, in the eyes of its discoverer, resembled a misshapen man, and which was on that account appropriated and deposited in the shrine, as possessing "big medicine."¹³

What then is the meaning of the contention of Partholon with these supernatural beings?

There seems to be very little room for doubt that the story is essentially a "ritual-pattern" narrative, analogous to those which recent research has identified in the ancient legends of Egyptian, Babylonian, Minoan, and other oriental centres, and which there is good reason to believe were universal. The primary needs of mankind are food and the continuation of the race: and endless experiments are tried, to make certain by magical means that Nature will not fail in her efforts to secure fertility in the fields, the stalls, and the human species. These vary in detail, but they conform to one general formula, which has been stated by Professor Hooke¹⁴ in the following terms:—

- (a) The dramatic representation of the death and resurrection of the god.
- (b) The recitation or symbolic representation of the myth of creation.
- (c) The ritual combat, in which the triumph of the god over his enemies was depicted.
- (d) The sacred marriage.
- (e) The triumphal procession, in which the king played the part of the god, followed by a train of lesser gods or visiting deities.

¹² *Revue Celtique*, xii, p. 86.

¹³ For suggestions as to the possibility of natural features in trees provoking cults of the kind, see L. Siret, "La dame de l'érable" (*L'Anthropologie*, xxx, p. 235). It is not irrelevant to recall the tree-stumps worked into grotesque god-figures which, as Lucan tells us, were to be seen in the sacred grove of Massilia (*Pharsalia*, iil, 412).

¹⁴ S. H. Hooke, *Myth and Ritual* (Oxford, 1933). See also Lord Raglan, *The Hero* (London, 1936).

This ritual is performed afresh each year, and so becomes familiar. It gradually crystallizes into a story, and the story becomes stereotyped by the perpetual repetition of the ritual and is fixed immovably in the popular memory. The essential fact which the ritual is meant to show forth is this: the god of the life-giving vegetation, incarnate in the king, dies with the winter, and is reborn in the springtime. It is impossible to trace out here all the evidence that extant Celtic literature supplies for the existence of such a ritual-pattern among the people to which that literature belongs: the rites at the inauguration of the King of Tara follow the oriental pattern with striking closeness. We must here confine ourselves to the Partholon story; and we shall have little difficulty in seeing that its apparent pointlessness vanishes, when we realize that in it, also, is the narrative of a fertility-ritual drama. It has suffered extreme deformation by arbitrary editorial manipulation; but most, if not all, of the component elements are still clearly recognizable.¹⁵

At this point it will be appropriate to cite a brief text, contained in a fragment bound into the MS. H. 4 22 (p. 37, col. 2) in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (there is another, slightly variant, copy in the same library, in H. 3. 18, part I, p. 46):—

Mad ail a fis cid ara tainic Parrtalón as a tír féin, nī. Parrtalón do marb [a] athair 7 a mathair .i. Sru mac Praitmint meic Athachta meic Mághoicc meic Iafet, ae iarraidh rigi da derbrathair .i. Beesomus a ainm-side; 7 fa sine é na Parrtalon. Ro indarb Srú Parrtalon 7 gur loit he, eir ben a suil cle as 7 co roibe .uii. mbliadna for indarbad. Co tanic isin Bigin Gree, lucht luinge, eir loise tech for a athair 7 for a mathair, gur loise iat a ndis, 7 do rat rigi da brathair. Ocus tanic fein co Heirinn ar teichim na finghaile sin. Ocus is inand Sera isin berla Greeda "fingalach" isin berla teibide. Is aire

¹⁵ The second element in the pattern—the creation-narrative—is not emphasized in the story as we have it. But it is there. A gloss in ¶ 247 traces the descent of the Nemedians from "Agla son of Partholon." This person can hardly be other than the "Adna son of Bith" of whom we have already heard (§ III). Partholon, therefore = Bith, Cosmos, and takes his rightful place as a creator.

aderar Parrtalon mac Sera fris. Ocus for indarbad rucadh dis do clann Parrtaloin .i. Rudraige 7 Slainghe, conid aire sin tainic taimleacht forra ina fingail. Ba he tinne [*leg.* truime] in taimlichta: in cruth ina mbid gach fer dib ina suide no na sesam no na luige a ee, 7rl.

"Wouldst thou know wherefore Partholon came out of his own land, 'tis easy. Partholon slew his father and his mother, namely Sru s. Prament s. Athacht s. Magog s. Iafeth, seeking kingship for his brother, whose name was Beesomus, and he was his senior. Sru drave out Partholon and wounded him, and cut his left eye out from him: and he was seven years in exile. Then he came into Bigin (?) of the Greeks¹⁶ [with] a ship's crew, and burnt a house over his father and his mother, and burnt them together, and gave the kingship to his brother. He himself came to Ireland, fleeing that kin-murder. Now *Sera* means in the Greek language what "fingalach" (= parricide) means in the Chosen language [Goidelic]. That is why he is called Partholon son of Sera. In exile were two of the children of Partholon born, Rudraige and Slanga. Wherefore there came a plague upon him in kin-bloodguiltiness; such was the heaviness of that plague that in whatsoever attitude any man was, sitting, or standing, or lying down, he died," etc.

The Egyptian version of the "pattern" story has certain points in common with the above narrative. Not to enter here into more than necessary details, Set, the enemy, slew Osiris, his brother, the king-god; Osiris was reborn as Horus, who avenged his father's murder upon Set, in which fight he, Horus, lost an eye; the eye was given to the dead Osiris to eat, and the latter was thereby equipped with a soul.¹⁷ It is not too much to say that from Ireland and from Egypt we appear to be listening to far-away echoes of one and the

¹⁶ The other MS., reads *asin mBethail Gregda*. It means the Micil or Sicil of the LG text.

¹⁷ See Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, vol. i, pp. 62 ff., for the full story. There are various versions of the fate of the eye: that here adopted will be found, *ibid.*, p. 82.

same primitive story, of sunrise and sunset, and of the death and re-birth of a god of vegetation. The tearing out of the eye appears to be connected with the creation or re-creation of the sun or of the moon¹⁸—with their death at setting and re-birth at rising.

The other details of the Irish narrative then drop into their place. Partholon, according to a glossator, is the same as Ith,¹⁹ who is the same as Topa; in other words, the dead king is re-born as these new personalities, just as Osiris is reborn as Horus. The ritual combat is very prominent, the hideous Fomoraiǵ being the enemies with whom the vegetation-god has to contend. In one illuminating passage (§ 216) we are told that no one was killed in the combat, for it was a druidical battle: this is simply a more or less contemptuous way of saying that it was a religious ceremony which took the form of a sham fight.²⁰ The sacred marriage is conspicuous also, though it has degenerated into the unpleasant story of Topa (= Partholon) and Delgnat. That the advances are made in the first instance by Delgnat is entirely in keeping with the ordinary pattern. And the train of attendants of Partholon each of them the tutelary deity of this or that activity or accomplishment of a simple pastoral life, corresponds to the fifth element in the ritual, in which the king led a triumphal procession of his subordinates. Even the killing of the dog Saimor has its place in the pattern; it inevitably recalls the *κυνόφορις*, which was part of the periodical ceremonies in honour of the Argive vegetation-daemon Linos.

The final plague we can safely brush aside as a mere editorial trimming. The synthesists had to get rid of the Partholonians somehow, in order to leave the stage clear for the Nemedians; and a plague was a convenient way of wiping out that population. But they have not been successful in concealing that a different story was told: or to be more accurate, the glossators, useful for once, have let the cat out of the bag. The god of vegetation must die under

¹⁸ See also Lord Raglan, *Jocasta's Crime*, pp. 142, 164.

¹⁹ For which we may now venture to write "(B)ith."

²⁰ On such ceremonies and their meaning, see H. J. Rose, "A suggested explanation of ritual combats," *Folklore*, xxxvi, p. 322.

the strokes of the winter-daemon, that he may be re-born in the springtime; and Partholon must therefore die of the venom of the wounds of Cieul (§ 217, 220).

Van Hamel reminds us that there was a god Cicollus (so Thurneysen corrects the name) of whom several altars have been found in the department of Côte d'Or. He is there equated to Mars, which may mean anything or nothing. Whether this Continental god has or has not anything to do with Cieul, we may presume that the actor who represented the latter personage in the drama danced or walked with some kind of limping gait, of which there is a reminiscence in the obscure adjective affixed to the invader's name in the LG story: and that he wore a grotesque mask, such as have been used all over the world from the Palaeolithic period onward, in rites of this kind.

In the later texts, K gives yet another estimate of the length of time between the Flood and Partholon—278 years; Keating accepts the 300, and specifically rejects the 1002 of previous authorities. Kg brings him from Mygdonia, K from Grecian Sicily; both authorities relate the parricide story, but Kg makes it a little easier—though not on that account more authentic—by a slight change: that Partholon slew his parents, seeking the kingdom *from* (not *for*) his brother. K reduces the journey from "Aladacia" to Gothia from nine days to three, and dates the arrival at Inber Seene to Tuesday the 17th of an unspecified moon: Kg says 14th May. Kg gives Partholon a following of 1000; K specifies only the three sons, the ten daughters, and their respective wives and husbands. The retinue of culture-patrons is given much as in R²R³; we have Samaliliath in Kg, Malaliach in K. Both have Biobal and Babal, with slight differences of spelling. K "spreads himself" on the Topa-Delgnat incident; Kg abbreviates it, omitting the *retorics*, naming the erring attendant Todhga, and omitting Partholon's vengeance upon him. None of the LG texts know the Dindsenchas story (the importance of which is indicated in the notes below), that he was eaten by dogs and birds (MD, iv, 290). The Fomorian invasion is told very briefly; Kg, as already noted, makes the mistake of anticipating their landing by 200 years. The four "unorthodox" sons of Partholon are enumerated by Kg, not by K, along with their division of Ireland.

SECTION IV.

PARTHOLON.

First Redaction.

L 3 a 5: F 5 γ 16.

199. Ba fās trā ¹Hēriu ‡ iarsain || frī rē trī ²chēt mbliadan ‡ ³no dā dēce ar trī cētaib, *quod uerius est* ³|| conostoraclit ⁴Partholōn mac Sera meic Srū. Is ē ⁵cēta rogab ⁶Hērinn iar ⁷ndilim, Dia Mairt, for ⁸ceithre dēce ēsea, in Inbiur Scēne: ⁹‡ ūair fo thrī rogabad Hēriu a Hinbiur Scēine ||. ⁹ Do ¹⁰ehlaind Magoth meic Iafēth ¹¹ē, ‡ *ut dixi supra* ^(a)||: isin tsescatmad bliadain¹¹ āisi Abrāim ¹²rogab Partholōn ¹³Hērinn.

200. ¹Cethur airech tānie Partholōn: .i. sē ²fēin, γ ³Laiglinne ⁴a mac, diatā Loch ⁵Laiglinne la ⁶Hū mac Cūais Breg: Slānga γ ⁷Rudraige, dā mac ⁸aile Parthalōin, diatā Sliab Slānga γ Loch ⁹Rudraige.⁸ In tan ro ⁹class a fert ¹⁰Rudraige ¹¹is ¹²and ro memaid in loch fo thīr.¹²

201. Secht mbliadna do Partholōn ²in Hērind in tan ³atbath in cēt fer⁴ dia ⁵muntir, .i. Fea, diatā Mag Fea; ūair is ⁶and ro hadnacht, ⁷i m-Maig Fea.

199. ¹Er. iarsin ²cet ³⁻⁵om.: conastoraclit ⁴L. usually abbreviates this name, stopping short before the second vowel: F prefers the spelling -thal- throughout. This may be said here once for all. ⁵cetna ⁶Erinn ⁷nilind ⁸.xiii changed sec. man. to .xiiii. ⁹⁻¹⁰om. F ¹⁰claind F ¹¹⁻¹²do Parthalon autem γ .lx. agissimo aetatis Abram tenuit Parthalon Hiberniam, .i. insin .iii. bliadain ¹¹rogab ¹²Erinn.

200. ¹ceatrar aireach tainie ²fen ³Laiglinde (bis) ⁴ins. .i.

199. Now Ireland was waste [thereafter], for a space of three hundred years, [or three hundred and twelve, *quod uerius est*] till Partholon s. Sera s. Sru came to it. He is the first who took Ireland after the Flood, on a Tuesday, on the fourteenth of the moon, in Inber Scene: [for three times was Ireland taken in Inber Scene]. Of the progeny of Magog son of Iafeth was he, [*ut dixi supra*]: in the sixtieth year of the age of Abraham, Partholon took Ireland.

200. Four chieftains strong came Partholon: himself, and Laiglinne his son, from whom is Loch Laiglinne in Ui mac Uais of Breg; Slanga and Rudraige, the two other sons of Partholon, from whom are Sliab Slanga and Loch Rudraige. When the grave of Rudraige was a-digging, the lake there burst forth over the land.

201. Seven years had Partholon in Ireland when the first man of his people died, to wit Fea, from whom is Mag Fea; for there was he buried, in Mag Fea.

⁵Hua mac Uais ⁶Rudraigi (ter) ⁷om. aile ⁸ins. .i. is ann ro hadnacht (*spelt meaninglessly* hadn·acht) ⁹clos a fert ¹⁰ins. γ a hadnacht ¹¹ann dombeaid ¹²ins. in tan sin.

201. ¹bliadna ²an Erinn ³itbath ⁴ins. atbath (*expuncted sec. man.*) and om. dia ⁵muintir ⁶ann ⁷imnig.

(a) Written v¹dxs.

202. ¹Isin tres bliadain ²īarsain, cēt ³chath Hēremn, ro ⁴briss Partholon i Slemmaib ⁵Maige Ītha for ⁶Cichol nGricenchos d'Fhomōrehaib: ⁷γ^(a) fir con ⁸ōen-lāmāib γ con ⁹ōen-chossaib ro fersat friss ¹⁰in cath.

203. Secht ¹loch-thomadmand in ²Hērind in amsir ³Parthalōin; ⁴i. Loch ⁵Laglinne la ⁶U mac Cūais Breg, Loch Cūān γ Loch ⁷Rudraige la Hultu, Loch ⁸nDechet ⁹γ Loch Mese γ ¹⁰Loch Con la ¹¹Connachta, ¹²γ Loch ¹³nEchtra la ¹⁴Airgialla; ār nī fuair ¹⁵Partholōn ar a cind ¹⁶in Hērind acht trī locha γ nōi n-aibne, i. Loch ¹⁷Fordremain i ¹⁸Slēib Mis ¹⁹γ Loch ²⁰Lumnig fo ²¹Thīr Find, Loch Cera in ²²Irrus; ²³Aband Lifi ²⁴γ ²⁵Lui ²⁶γ ²⁷Muad γ ²⁸Slieceh γ ²⁹Samāir forsata ³⁰Es Rūaid, Find γ ³¹Modorn, ³²Buas γ Banna ³³etir Lē γ Elle. ³⁴Cethri bliadna ³⁵ria n-ēc Partholōin, tomaidm ³⁶Brēnnai fo thīr.

204. Ro slechta ¹cethri maige la Partholōn in ²Hērind: Mag nītha la ³Laigniu, Mag Tuired la ⁴Connachta, Mag Lī la Hū ⁵mac Cūais, Mag ⁶Ladrān la Dāl ⁷Araide. Ar nī ⁸fuair Partholon ar ⁹a ¹⁰ehind ¹¹in Hērind acht ¹²ōen-magh, i. sēn-mag ¹³nEtair. Is aire atberar sēnmag dē, ar nīr ās frem nā flesc feda¹⁴ trīt rīam.

202. ¹isan ²iarsin ³caath (*dittography due to change of line*)
Erenn ⁴bris ⁵Muigi Hitha ⁶γ Cichar nGlicreosach domorehaib
⁷aencosaib γ con aenlamaib ro fersad fris ⁸om. in cath: ins. i. demna
irachtaib daime do fersad fris.

203. ¹lochmadmanna ²Erinn ³Partal- ⁴om. i. ⁵Laiglindi
⁶Hu mac Uais ⁷Rudraigi ⁸Teeid ⁹γ Loch nEchtra L (*om. γ Loch Mese*)
¹⁰γ Loch Con *om. and ins. cL* ¹¹Connachta F ¹²om. γ
¹³nEetra ¹⁴Haigialla ¹⁵Partalon ¹⁶an Erinn ¹⁷Fordremain
(*the first r ye*) ¹⁸Slēib Mis la Mumain ¹⁹om. γ ²⁰Lumnig
²¹Tir F: *written fo thir. Findloch Cera, L* ²²Irrass ²³abann
²⁴om. γ (*bis*) ²⁵Lai ²⁶Muaid ²⁷Slieceh ²⁸Samēr ²⁹Ess
³⁰Modarn ³¹ins. γ ³²itir ³³ceitri ³⁴re nech (*sic*) Partal.
³⁵Brena.

202. In the third year thereafter, the first battle of Ireland, which Partholon won in Slemma of Mag Itha against Cichol Clapperleg of the Fomoraig. Men with single arms and single legs they were, who joined the battle with him.

203. There were seven lake-bursts in Ireland in the time of Partholon: Loch Laiglinne in Ui mac Uais of Breg, Loch Cuan and Loch Rudraige in Ulaid, Loch Dechet and Loch Mese and Loch Con in Connachta, and Loch Echtra in Airgialla; for Partholon did not find more than three lakes and nine rivers in Ireland before him—Loch Fordremain in Sliab Mis <of Mumu>, ^(b) Loch Lumnig on Tir Find, Loch Cera in Irrus; Aba Lifi, Lui, Muad, Slieceh, Samer (upon which is Ess Ruaid) Find, Modorn, Buas, and Banna between Le and Elle. Four years before the death of Partholon, the burst of Brena over the land.

204. Four plains were cleared by Partholon in Ireland: Mag Itha in Laigen, Mag Tuired in Connachta, Mag Lī in Ui mac Uais, Mag Ladrān in Dal nAraide. For Partholon found not more than one plain in Ireland before him, the Old Plain [of Elta] of Edar. This is why it is called the "Old Plain" for never did branch or twig of a wood grow through it.

204. ¹ceitri muigi ²Erinn ³Laigni, Mag Tuirid ⁴Connachta
⁵mac Uais Breg ⁶Laitrain (*written Laitin, the superposed a ye F*)
⁷nAruid ⁸uir ⁹om. a ¹⁰cind ¹¹an Erinn ¹²om. oen-magh i.
¹³⁻¹⁴Elta Etair do muigib, is ann sen do had-(c)-naet Partholon. Is airi
itberar sen-mag do-sen, ar nī do ass premb na flesc edha.

(a) γ is presumably miswritten for i.

(b) "Of Mumu" ins. in F.

(c) End of page here; in the lower margin there is a graffito in Ogham letters, partly defaced and unintelligible (apparently cryptical). This does not appear to have anything to do with the text.

205. ¹Ocus is ²and-side atbath Partholōn, ³i. cōic ⁴mīle fer ⁊ ceitre ⁵mīle ban, do ⁶thām sechtmaine ⁷i callann Māi. Dia ⁸Lūain rosgab ⁹tām, ⁊ ¹⁰rosmarb in ¹¹tām ¹²ule, acht ¹³ōen-fer ¹⁴tantum — i. Tūān mac ¹⁵Stairnn meic Sera meic brāthar Partholōin: ocus ¹⁶rondelb Dīa ¹⁷i r-richtaib¹⁷ imdaib, ⁊ ro mair in ¹⁸t-ōenfer sain ō ¹⁹amsir Partholōin co ²⁰hamsir Finnēn ⁊ Coluin Cille: ²¹condecaid dōib Gabāla ²²Hērenn ō ²³amsir Chesra, ²⁴cēta ragab, cosin ²⁵n-amsir sin. Ocus is ē sin Tūān mac Cairill meic ²⁶Muridaig Mundeirg.²⁷ Is dō ²⁸sin ro ²⁹chan in sūi senchasa in lāid-se sīs—

A chōemu clāir Cuind cōem-īind . . .

206. Ceitri meic Partholoin ro cet-raindsid Erind ar tus, i. Aor, Orba, Fergna, Feron. Robadar cetrar a com-anmand sin ag macaib Miled, ⁊ ni hiad fein. Ota [Ath] Cliath Laigin co Hailach Neid, is i rauid Aer sin. Ota Ath Cliath co Hailan Arda Nemid, rauid Orba sin. Ota in Ailach co Ath Cliath Medraigi, rauid Feroiu insin. Ota in Ath Cliath (sic) sin co Hailach Net, rauid Fergna insin. Conad aialaid sin ro cet-rainnid Erinn.

207. Bai ie Partholon in cethar dam, is e sin buar Erenn. Ba dia daim Brega mac Senbotha ea n-ernnad tech ⁊ feoi ⁊ comrae aenfir ar tus an Erinn. Ba dia daim Samailiath, ea ndernnad ol corma ⁊ rathaigeht ar tus an Erinn. Ba dia daim Beoir, ea nernad tech n-aigidh ar tus Erinn. Amail isbert in file,

Ro bo maith in muintir mōr . . .

Do t-inrab Partholoin inso ebus (sic)—

Partholōn can as tainic . . .

Is iad sin tra secla na cet gabala Erenn iar ndilind.

[Continued in Vol. III.]

205. ¹om. ⁊ ²annsin adbath ³om. i. cōic L. ⁴mīli (bis)
⁵tam ⁶hi ⁷Luann ⁸ins. in ⁹dosmairb F: rosmarb uile in tam
ale acht L ¹⁰tamh ¹¹om. ule ¹²acn- ¹³om. ¹⁴sic F Starn L.
¹⁵om. -n- ¹⁶arichtaib ¹⁷ins. in amsiraib ¹⁸taenfer sin ¹⁹amsir
²⁰amsir Finnain Muigi Bili co Colam Cille ²¹coneccaid ²²Erenn

205. And it is there that Partholon died, five thousand men and four thousand women, of a week's plague on the kalends of May. On a Monday plague took them, and the plague killed them all except one man *tantum*—Tuan son of Starn son of Sera nephew of Partholon: and God fashioned him in many forms, and that man survived alone from the time of Partholon to the time of Findian and of Colum Cille. So he narrated to them the Takings of Ireland from the time of Cessair, the first who took, to that time. And that is Tuan son of Cairrell son Muiredach Muinderg. Of him the history-sage sang the following song—

Poem no. XXX.

206. It was the four sons of Partholon who made the first division of Ireland in the beginning, Er, Orba, Fergna, Feron. There were four men, namesakes to them, among the sons of Mil, but they were not the same. From Ath Cliath of Laigin to Ailech Neit, is the division of Er. From Ath Cliath to the island of Ard Nemid, is the division of Orba. From Ailech to Ath Cliath of Medraige, is the division of Feron. From that Ath Cliath to Ailech Neit, is the division of Fergna. So that in that manner they first divided Ireland.

207. Partholon had the four oxen, that is the first cattle of Ireland. Of his company was Brea son of Senboth, by whom were a house, a flesh [cauldron], and duelling first made in Ireland. Of his company was Samailiath, by whom were ale-drinking and suretyship first made in Ireland. Of his company was Beoir, by whom a guesthouse was first made in Ireland. As the poet saith

Poem no. XXXI.

Further of the voyaging of Partholon—

Poem no. XXXII.

So those are the tidings of the first Taking of Ireland after the Flood.

²³amsir Cessrach ²⁴cetna rogab Er, ²⁵om. prefixed n- ²⁶Muridaig
²⁷ins. do Hulttaibh ²⁸om. sin ²⁹can in senchaid in duan so.

206. This ¶ in F only.

207. This ¶ in F only.

